THE RELIGION OF THE DUTCH.

Pamphlets

No. 1

Represented in Several

LETTERS

FROM

A Protestant Officer

[illegible] FRENCH ARMY,

[illegible] Divinity, at

[illegible]

[illegible] French.

[illegible]

Printed for [illegible] at Grayes-Inn Gate in Holborn, 1680.

THE RELIGION OF THE DUTCH.

Reconciled in Several

LETTERS

FROM

A Protestant Officer

IN

The FRENCH ARMY,

TO

A Pastor, and Professor of Divinity, at

BERNE in Switzerland.

Out of the French.

LONDON

Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grayes Inn Gate in

Holborn, 1 6 8 0.

The Contents of the *LETTERS.*

THE First Letter discovers by what means, and upon what motives, the Reformed Religion, *according to the* Calviniſtical *way, was eſtabliſh'd in the* United Provinces.

The Second and Third give an account of all the different Religions, *that are in thoſe Provinces, and their principal Opinions.*

The Fourth and Fifth prove, That the United Provinces *cannot be ſaid, to be an Eſtate of the* Reformed Religion.

The Sixth makes it appear, That, though the Dutch *were the moſt* Reformed

Christians *in the World, yet were it an act of temerarious Imprudence in those of the* Reformed Religion, *to Confederate together, for their Relief, in the War between* Them *and the most* Christian King. *And that, of the* Protestant Cantons, *of* Swisserland, *those were highly to be blam'd, which refus'd to raise Forces for his most* Christian Majesty; *as was also that of* Berne, *which having granted his most* Christian Majesty *a Regiment, kept so much stir, to hinder its Serving against the* Dutch.

THE RELIGION OF THE DUTCH.

The First LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

THough I have alwaies known, and look'd upon you, as a moſt zealous man in the *Calviniſtical* perſuaſion, yet I ſhould never have imagin'd, that your zeal would have tranſported you ſo far, as to induce you, to pronounce an Anathema againſt all thoſe of the *Reformed Religion*, who now ſerve the *moſt Chriſtian King* in the War, wherein he is engag'd againſt the *Dutch*. Mean time, you know, that you have run into this ſtrange Extremity, in the Letter you were pleas'd to write from *Borne*, of the 15*th*. of the laſt Moneth, which yet came not to my hands till within theſe two daies. You; at the firſt dash, tell me, it is a matter you cannot be ſufficiently aſtoniſhed at, That any Officer, who makes Profeſſion of *our* Religion, whether he be *Swiſſe*, or *French*, or of what other Countrey ſoever, ſhould preſume to fight againſt our *dear Brethren in Chriſt*, the *Dutch*, and make it their Buſineſs to deſtroy that *Sanctifi'd Republick, which has alwaies been the Refuge and Sanctuary of thoſe of the Reformed Religion, and to*

which all Protestants are in the highest manner oblig'd. You, afterwards, make it your most earnest entreaty to us, That, out of the tenderness we ought to have of our Salvation, we should *quit our Employments, and enter our Selves into the Service of the* Dutch, *so to expiate the Sin we have committed in serving against them.* You solemnly declare to us, in Fine, That, if we do not, upon sight, follow this advice of yours, we are a sort of damn'd Wretches, never to be retriev'd out of the deplorable Condition we are in, and that we ought not to expect any Forgiveness for our Crime, either in this World, or that to come, no more, or less, than if we had sinn'd against the Holy Ghost. As for your *Protestant-Cantons*, you highly celebrate the Prudence of those among'st them, who have deny'd his Majesty of *France* any Forces, in his unjust War, as you are pleas'd to call that, wherein he is now involv'd, against the *Dutch*. Besides, you highly condemn those, who, having supply'd him with such Forces, have not been importunate in the recalling of them, and have not been dissatisfi'd, to see them employ'd, in attacking and maintaining the Cities which have been taken from the *States-General*.

I should not have been much startled, if I had receiv'd such a Letter from the Minister of some Country-Village, or from some person whose abilities rais'd him not above the ordinary Rate of men. But I must acknowledge my self surpriz'd, as much as man can be so, to see that you, *Reverend Sir*, who are a *Professor of Divinity*, and have the reputation of being one of the most experienced men of *Switzerland*, especially upon the score of *Politicks*, should write me a Letter fraught with things very strange and extravagant, and Maximes absolutely inconsistent with sound Sence, and Reason, and contrary even to the end you have propos'd to your self, which is, doubtless, the preservation and propagation of our *Reform'd Religion*, and of the Churches which profess it. I undertake to make a clear justification of the truth of the things which I advance, and to let you see the Mistake you lye under, and with what injustice you have so slightly pronounc'd the Sentence of Condemnation, against all those of the *Reform'd Religion*, who serve the most *Christian King*, in the War which he is now concern'd in against the *Dutch*.

To that end it is my design, to shew you, somewhat at large, of what nature the *Religion* of the *Dutch* is, and what *sanctity* is to be attributed to their *Republick*; and thence it will appear, how highly

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the *Protestants* are concern'd to wish the preservation of it. And when that is done, I shall afterwards prove, That though the *Hollanders* were the most *reform'd* of all People, in their *Religion*, as well as in their *morality*; yet you would not have any reason, to condemn either those private Persons of their Persuasion, who serve against them; or yet those of your *Cantons*, who have supply'd the most *Christian* King with Forces, upon this occasion.

I must acknowledge, That if we consider the *Dutch* Confession of Faith, and the Cathechism they use; it cannot be denyed, but that they profess the same Religion, with that which is received at *Geneva*, and in your *Protestant-Cantons*. But in the mean time, this is to be noted, That though they make an external Profession of the same Religion with yours, yet their Conduct and Deportment do evidently demonstrate, that they make not any account of it, or that they believe it not at all. To that end, it is requisite, that I make a higher enquiry into things, and go to the very source, and give you a discovery, by what Degrees, and by what Means, this Religion was established in the State, and the different Conduct which the *States-General* have observ'd, in reference thereto.

I am of opinion, in the first place, That there is not any necessity of my telling you, that *Religion* was neither the cause, nor the pretence, of the disturbances, revolutions, and seditions of the *Low-Countries*; and that it was not upon that score, that the People of several Provinces, after they had carried on the War against their Prince, for many years, resolv'd at last to degrade him, and to shake off the yoke of his Dominion over them.

The great Lords of the Country, as the Prince of *Orange*, the Count of *Egmont*, and Count *Horne*, were extreamly exasperated, to see, that Cardinal *de Granvelle*, a Forreigner, and a person of very obscure Parentage, had the management of all things, and was the supreme Arbitrator of all Affairs; and to think, that they themselves had not any authority in the Government. They maintained in the mean time, That the said authority belong'd to them, of Right, upon the score of their merit, that of their birth, that of the great Estates they were possess'd of, and that of the Services they had done the State.

The Eccleſiaſtical party were moſt highly diſguſted, upon this account, That their Abbeys, their Priories and their Benefices were to be aboliſhed, for the Raiſing of a Revenue for the new Biſhopricks, which had been erected; as alſo for that they had ſet over them certain Perſons, who devour'd their annual profits, and who cenſur'd their Conduct, and their Manners. To which they added another grievance, That, according to the deciſions of the moſt learned Lawyers of the Country, it was an impiety, to convert the Goods of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to any other Uſe, than that whereto they had been deſign'd, by the Wills of thoſe, who had made the donations of them.

The Magiſtrates of Cities and Corporations made their Complaint, That they had deny'd audience to the States, who had deſir'd a free Aſſembly, that there might be a common conſultation, about the remedy, moſt likely to promote the remedying of their grievances; and that there had been new and inſupportable impoſitions laid upon them, not only without the Conſent of the Eſtates, but alſo in ſpight of their oppoſition.

The ordinary People loudly declar'd, That the King of *Spain* would have aboliſh'd the ancient form of their Government, to the ſubverſion of their Lawes and Cuſtomes, that he might thereby introduce a Tyrannical dominion, like that which he made Uſe of, for the Government of ſome Kingdomes of *Spain*, that of *Naples*, and the *Indies*. In a word, the *Grandees*, the *Eccleſiaſticks*, the *Magiſtracy*, and the common ſort of *People*, had all a particular occaſion of diſcontent; but they had alſo one which was common to them all. Above all things they had an extream horror for the *Inquiſition*, which had been eſtabliſh'd amongſt them; out of a Fear, that under pretence of *Religion*, ſome deſign might be carried on, againſt the Liberties and Eſtates of all. It was for the ſame reaſon, that the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Dutchy of *Milan*, would not endure the eſtabliſhment of the *Inquiſition* amongſt them, though neither of thoſe two Countries ever had any deſign, to deſert the doctrine and Worſhip of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion.

Moſt part of the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* were, at the beginning, ſtrongly inclin'd to the profeſſion of the ancient Religion; and yet they could not endure, that any man ſhould be put to death,

upon

upon the ſcore of any Religion whatſoever. And though that cruelty gave them not any occaſion of Fear for themſelves, yet did it however raiſe in them a compaſſion for their fellow-Citizens. Howe're it were, whether out of pity to others, or by way of precaution for themſelves, thoſe People, who were extremely jealous of their liberty, and for the conſervation of their Lawes and Cuſtomes, which, at beſt, are but Temporal things, contributory to the conveniencies of the preſent life, could yet much leſs endure to be depriv'd of the Spiritual things, which relate to the ſervice of God, and eternal Salvation.

In the year 1565. The greateſt Lords of the Country, and ſeveral Gentlemen, conſiderable upon the ſcore of their extraction, of whom moſt were *Catholicks*, entred into an Alliance, for the preſervation of their municipal Laws, and for the abrogation of the ſanguinary Edicts which had been made for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Inquiſition*. In purſuance of this firſt Treaty of union, was it, that they preſented to *Margaret*, then Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, that famous Petition, which occaſion'd the firſt inſurrections, and which procur'd them the denomination of *Beggars*, which was then given them, and which they could not get off for a long time: After the Treaty of *Gaunt*, all the *Catholick* Provinces, ſave only that of *Luxemburg*, enter'd into an Alliance with thoſe which were already confederated, for the ſecurity of their Lawes, their Privileges, and their Liberty. The Alliance of Union, and Armes, which they had contracted, againſt the *Spaniards*, was immediately publiſh'd in *Bruſſels*, and confirm'd by the ſolemn Oaths of the Clergy, the Nobility, the Gentry, the People, and of the Senate it ſelf.

In the year 1578. the Eſtates, as well of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, as of the *Reformed* Perſuaſion, being aſſembled at the *Hague*, did unanimouſly declare, That King *Philip* was deveſted of the Principality of the *Low-Countries*.

In the year 1579. The Eſtates being aſſembled at *Utrecht*, made a new Union, from which they took the name of the *United Provinces*. And in the 13*th* Article of that Treaty, it is expreſly order'd, That every man ſhall be allow'd the liberty of Religion, without any trouble or perſecution to any one, upon that occaſion.

All

All these Treaties of Alliance, which the Provinces, as well *Catholick*, as *Protestant*, had made together, for their mutual defence against the *Spaniards*, make it evidently appear, That the design of Establishing a new Religion was neither the ground nor motive thereof. Prince *William* himself, in his *Declarations* and *Apologies*, did alwaies openly protest, as did also the States in theirs, That they had not taken up armes for Religion, and that the Provinces had not united, in order to the profession of any one particular Religion. So far was it from this, that it is certain, all the Treaties, as that of *Gaunt*, and the Union of *Utrecht*, all the Declarations of the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, and of the Duke of *Anjou*, do loudly establish the free Exercise of all Religions, and in express terms, forbid the Disturbing and Persecuting of any man upon that occasion.

In the mean time, though they had not, at the beginning, any reflection by way of conscientious motive, for the having of any one publick Religion, yet could they not forbear establishing it afterwards, out of a pure interest of State. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* having then in a manner quite shaken off the yoke of Obedience to the Magistrates, that juncture of time seem'd wonderfully fit for the Establishment of new Religions. About thirty or forty years before, men had seen budding out afresh, in *Germany*, the opinions of *John Hus*; in *England*, those of *Wickliff*, and in *France*, those of the *Waldenses*. All these different doctrines were much about the same time spread up and down amongst the *Belgians*. The Prince of *Orange* having got out of *Germany* and *France*, some of the Disciples of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, where their Religions were already establish'd, order'd them to Preach in the *Low-Countries*, by the means of those new Doctors. But he himself persisted in a publick profession of the *Roman* Religion, and was unwilling, in the Principality of *Orange*, to permit the Exercise of our *Reformed Religion*, which was otherwise well establish'd in *France*. But as he had his Prospects at a great distance, he either under-hand, or openly, when he thought it most convenient, countenanc'd, or conniv'd at all the Assemblies which the People made, for the Exercise of all the New Religions, which were of no long Standing in the World. By this means did he make account to gain the Affections of the People, and, at one time or other, to make his advantage of those different Religions, for the execution of his great Designs. He knew that all those new Christians, whom he protected in the Exercise of Religions, were so many

many Creatures, whom he made sure to his Party, by an inviolable Bond; and as many irreconcileable Enemies to *Philip*, who was the cruel Persecutor of all those upstart Professors of Religion.

In the mean time, Prince *William*, who had all this while concealed his Sentiments for Religion, took a very convenient opportunity, to lay by the *Roman-Catholick* persuasion, which he had till then profess'd, and to embrace that of the *Protestants*. He was in *Germany*, at his Brothers, the Count of *Nassaw*, and had been forc'd by the Intreaties of many of his Relations, and some Friends, banish'd out of the *Low-Countries*, to try an expedition, to endeavour the deliverance of their Country from the oppression wherein it was, and to set it at liberty. When therefore he saw, that he stood in need of the assistance of the *Protestants*, for the getting of an Army together, he thought it a fit time to cast off the Mask, and to publish, by his *Manifesto*, That he had deserted the *Roman* Church, to follow a better Religion. He had also in his Eye this considerable advantage, That by the Settlement of a Religion different from the *Roman*, he rendred the reconciliation between the *Provinces* and the King of *Spain*, more difficult, or indeed impossible. He had observ'd, that some of the *Catholick* Provinces had deviated from the Alliance of *Gaunt*, and put themselves under the obedience of *Philip*; and he saw, that the Catholicks of the Confederated Provinces would rather have enclin'd him to reassume the yoke of their ancient domination. It was his Fear, and with reason, That when the dispute should be only about the Privileges, the Lawes, and the Customs, and in a word, things of a temporal Concern, King *Philip* coming to satisfie his Subjects, or the Subjects to recede from their Rights, for the obtaining of a Peace, it would be no hard matter to see those people reconcil'd to their Prince. Whereas, on the other side, having dispos'd the confederated Provinces, to embrace a new Religion, he thereby put an insurmountable obstruction to their reunion with *Philip*. He knew that That Prince, who with an implacable fury persecuted all those who had renounc'd the ancient Religion, would resolve rather to lose the *Low-Countries*, than to grant his Subjects the free Exercise of a new Religion. There had been a Report spread about, that presently upon his Return into *Spain*, after he had order'd the Condemnation of some men eminent for their Learning, and women illustrious for their birth, to be burnt; he would himself be present at

so

ſo cruel an execution; and was a ſpectator of it, as if it had been a delightful Show.

Many perſons therefore, amongſt the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, having embrac'd the new Religions, the Prince of *Orange* engag'd them by the Bond of Conſcience, and by the Deſpair of Pardon, to maintain the Change he had made, that ſo they might not relapſe under the power of their ancient Maſter. Happy was it, for the proſecution of his deſign, that he had made this advantage of that Liberty of Conſcience, which he had given to all ſorts of perſons; but perceiving withal, that that unbounded Liberty, without the eſtabliſhment, and preference, of ſome one Religion, occaſion'd a great confuſion in the Government, he thought it neceſſary to make choice of one, which ſhould be the publick, and predominant Religion, and the Religion of State. Yet had he not as yet abſolutely pitch'd upon what he intended, nor determin'd which Religion he ought to embrace; whether that of the *Lutherans*, that of the *Calviniſts*, or that of the *Anabaptiſts*; all thoſe three Religions not making any acknowledgment of the Popes Authority, or the juriſdiction of the *Roman* Church. But he had afterwards ſome reaſons, which oblig'd him to determine upon the choice of one, as well for his own private Concern, as for that of the State. The Sect of the *Anabaptiſts* was the leaſt conſiderable upon all accounts, and was not much to be fear'd, as well by reaſon of the diviſions wherewith it was ſhaken, as by reaſon of its Sectators, who, for the moſt part, were perſons of a very obſcure condition, and of their Sentiments, by which they are not admitted to Magiſtracy, or the Uſe of Arms. For which reaſon, the Prince of *Orange* could not make any Uſe of them, as being not proper for his Deſign. He aſpir'd to the principal charge of the State; and that Religion permitted not its Diſciples to exerciſe any kind of Magiſtracy. He needed the aſſiſtance of Arms, to maintain and make good the Change he had made in the State, and the new form of Government which he had eſtabliſh'd; and the *Anabaptiſts* would not have Arms uſed upon any occaſion.

The *Lutheran* Religion was very conſiderable, by reaſon of the affection and Support of ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, who had embrac'd it, and highly protected thoſe who made profeſſion thereof. Prince *William* had more inclination for that Religion, in which

which he had been instructed from his Infancy, and he might very well hope for assistance and protection from the Electoral House of *Saxony*, of which he had Married a Daughter, to his Second Wife. But on the other side, he hoped for more considerable assistances from the Princes who made profession of our *Reformed* way of Religion. That which Queen *Elizabeth* had Establish'd in *England*, was wholly conformable to ours, as to the Doctrine, and differ'd from it, only as to the Form of Government, and the Use of Ceremonies. The *Elector-Palatine*, who was then the most powerful Prince of the Empire, did absolutely profess the same Religion. The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Admiral *Castillon*, and a considerable number of other Lords and Gentlemen, and a numerous people of *France*, made a publick profession of it. The Prince of *Orange* therefore, hoping to engage all those Princes, by the interest of one and the same Religion, to give him powerful assistances, for the corroboration of the new Republick, thought fit to make choice of that Religion for himself, and the State. Besides, as that Religion was more contrary to that of the *Romish* Church, than the *Lutheran*, so he thought it more fit for the Commonwealth, which he had founded, out of an aversion to the Tyrannical Domination of *Spain*. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* having a strong aversion for the *Spaniards*, the Prince of *Orange* endeavour'd to persuade them, That there was no likelihood, that a people so corrupted, should have received directions from God, to serve him purely, by the Worship of the true Religion. He afterwards endeavour'd to insinuate to them, That our *Reformed Religion*, which was more different from theirs, was, doubtless the best, and most acceptable to God.

There comes into my mind, upon this occasion, what I have Read in the History of the *Indies*, That they could not by any means dispose a great number of persons of that Country, to be converted to the *Christian Religion*, because the *Spaniards* made a profession of it. For, as those poor people had seen them commit such Cruelties, as they had never seen any example of before, so they had a horror for their Religion, upon a supposition that it inspir'd them with such barbarous Sentiments. They could not be mov'd with the hope of Celestial Felicity, after they had been told, that the *Spaniards*, together with all good Christians, would have their abode in that happy place. They saw no charms in the Glo-

ries of Paradice, since they were to be partakers of them with a Nation so barbarous; and they could not believe, that the Felicity, which they put them in hopes of, could secure them from the persecution of so inhumane a people. In a word, they could not be induc'd to embrace a Religion, which was to conduct them, after their death, to live eternally in the company of a people, which, according to their Sentiment, was the most wicked of any upon Earth.

The Duke of *Alva* having exercis'd, in the *Low-Countries*, as strange Cruelties, as those of his Country had done in the *Indies*, the Inhabitants of *Flanders* had no less an aversion for the *Spaniards*, then the *Indians*. And as all the rigorous punishments, which had been inflicted upon the people of the *Low-Countries*, were imputed to the *Roman-Catholick* Religion; so the Prince of *Orange* did cunningly make use of that prejudgment, to induce them to embrace a Religion, contrary to that of the *Spaniards*, which had made them endure so many Calamities.

It was in the Year 1572. that that Religion, which was receiv'd in your *Protestant-Cantons*, at *Geneva*, in the *Palatinate* of *Germany*, and in the Churches of *France*, was establish'd in the Confederated Provinces, for the only publick Religion. And yet they put a difference in it, which you will think very considerable, if you consult the Sentiments of your first Reformers, those of the Doctors who were their Successors, and the constant practice of your *Protestant-Cantons*, and of all the Estates of the Reform'd Religion. For you know, that in all the Countries, where those of our Religion are the Masters, they do not suffer the exercise of any other Religion, nor allow, in all their Territories, a place of habitation, to those who profess a different one; whereas the *United Provinces* did not only permit the exercise of all sorts of Religions, but did also reject as Tyrannical, all the Laws, whereby there was any prescription made for Uniformity of Sentiments, upon that occasion, attributing to them the name of *Inquisition*, so odious amongst them.

And this Liberty of Conscience, was, as I have already observ'd, Establish'd, not only by the Writings of the Prince of *Orange*, by the Peace of *Gaunt*, by the publick and particular agreement, which was made for Religion, under the Regency of the Arch-Duke *Mat-*

thias;

thism; by the Union of *Utrecht*; and by several Treaties which have been made with the Cities of the Country. If I mistake not, methinks it may be affirmed, that the Confederated Provinces were of our *Reformed Religion* in particular, while the Liberty of Conscience was Establish'd for all sorts of Persons, and the exercise of all Religions was publickly permitted; and it was so till the Year 1583. All the Regulations which the *States-General* have made afterwards for Religion, and the Conduct they have been guided by, in reference to that, are so far from proving them to be of our Religion, that they make it evidently appear, that they never were, nor are not at all of it. And this, Sir, is what I design to justifie to you in the first Letter, which I shall write to you upon this Subject. This is long enough; and if I am weary of Writing, you possibly may be more weary of Reading what I have Written. Let us then repose a while. It will not be long e're you hear from me again; mean time, be assur'd, that I am,

Reverend Sir,

Utrecht, *May* 4*th*. 1673.

Your most humble, &c.

The Second LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

IF you have ſeriouſly reflected on what I have written in my firſt Letter, I conceive you will readily make this acknowledgment, That the *United Provinces* were not of the *Reformed Religion*, as long as there was not any ſuch Eſtabliſh'd by any publick Decree; and that all the *Sectaries* had as much liberty there, as thoſe of the *Reformed Perſuaſion*. I know well enough, that that Liberty of Conſcience, which had been Eſtabliſh'd by ſo many Treaties, and by ſo many publick Acts, was abſolutely forbidden, by the Regulation which the *States-General* made in the Year 1583. Take here, in expreſs terms, what it contains.

Since there has been a permiſſion granted, by the Union of Utrecht, *to amplifie, to abridge, and change, ſome Articles, when ever the welfare and ſecurity of the* Provinces *ſhould ſeem to require it, the* States, *attentively conſidering the* XIII. *Article, have unanimouſly ordain'd, and appointed, That the exerciſe of any Religion ſhall not be henceforward receiv'd, other then that which is publickly taught in the* United Provinces, *which is the* Reformed Religion. *With this proviſo however, That if any Provinces, Members, or Cities of the* Popiſh *Religion ſhall be willing to enter into this Alliance, they ſhall be continu'd in the freedome of their Religion, conditionally, that they ſign and ſubſcribe the other Articles of this Alliance.*

To render this Ordinance of no effect, I might tell you, what was alledg'd, as ſoon as ever it was paſt, by the *Catholicks*, and all thoſe who were not of our *Reformed Religion*. Their complaint was, That it had been made, contrary to all manner of Juſtice and Reaſon, contrary to the Stipulated Faith of all the Treaties, which the Inhabitants of the ſame Provinces had made, and of thoſe which

which the Provinces had made mutually one with an other. They maintain'd, That, having united themſelves together, for the preſervation of the Laws and Privileges of the Country, it was a great injuſtice, to make an Eſtabliſhment of one ſingle Religion, to be the publick Religion, and to deprive the others of the exerciſe of theirs, and not to allow them any part in the Government of the State.

But, above all others, the *Catholicks* thought it very ſtrange, that they, having taken up Arms againſt the *Spaniards*, only for the defence of their Liberty, ſhould not be allow'd the free exerciſe of their ancient Religion, as if they had ſpent all their labour, only to deprive themſelves thereof, and to acquire Liberty of Conſcience for others, and to make the *Reformed Religion* the moſt predominant, and to raiſe that only into the Throne. Nor did the followers of the other Religions, think they had leſs cauſe, then the *Catholicks*, to be diſſatisfy'd and diſguſted, at that Ordinance, which took away the exerciſe and abſolute freedom of their Religion. They urged, That from the time of their firſt intertexture of the intereſt of Religion, with that of the State, in the conteſt which they had with the *Spaniards*, Liberty of Conſcience had been Eſtabliſh'd by ſo many publick Decrees, that they could not be violated, without extremity of injuſtice.

The Prince of *Orange*, without concerning himſelf much at the complaints of the one or the other of the aggrieved Parties, did, for his own private intereſt, and for that of the Republick, proſecute his deſign of making an Eſtabliſhment of our *Reformed Religion*, to be the only *Publick Religion*, of which all thoſe, who ſhould pretend to any concern in the Adminiſtration of the Government, were oblig'd to make their profeſſion. He had a jealouſie of the *Catholicks*, upon the ſcore of his being afraid, that they might employ their credit, to diſpoſe the people to reſettle themſelves under the domination of the *Spaniards*. Nor had he any greater liking to the adherents of the other Religions, by reaſon of their being odious to all the reſt of the *Proteſtants*. As therefore thoſe who profeſs'd our *Reformed Religion* were the beſt-affected to him, ſo he thought it convenient, to entruſt them with all the Authority, for the management of publick Affairs.

Now,

Now, Reverend Sir, be your self pleas'd to judg, whether these Provinces deserve to be called of the *Reformed Religion*, for this reason, that, out of pure interest of State, and without any Justice, they have made an Ordinance for the Establishment of one single Religion, exclusively to all the rest?

But supposing I should grant, that whatever is alledg'd by the *Catholicks*, and the *Sectaries*, against that Ordinance, is groundless, and irrational, and that they had the justest Reasons in the World to make it; yet I maintain, that the bare making of it is not a sufficient inducement, for any one to affirm, that this State is of the *Reformed Religion*. I cannot forbear acknowledging, that this Ordinance does so expressly comprehend the sentiment of all our Doctors, that if the *United Provinces* had been as careful in the execution of it, as the *Elector-Palatine*, your *Protestant-Cantons*, and the City of *Geneva* are, it could not be deny'd, but that their State really and truly is of our *Reformed Religion*. But I think, Sir, that you do know, and if you do not know it, I shall make it so clearly appear to you, that you shall not in the least doubt of it, That this Ordinance has been so far from being put into execution, that they have always practic'd, and still do practice, what is directly contrary to the Contents thereof.

By this Ordinance, there is an express prohibition of allowing any other Religion then the *Reformed*, in the *Provinces*; and yet we there find the publick exercise of many other Religions, besides the *Reformed*, not to say of all those who were desirous to have it. And that you may not doubt of it, I shall here give you a short Catalogue of the Religions in that Country, which have an uncontroulable liberty of celebrating their Mysteries, and serving God, as they themselves think fit.

Be pleas'd then to know, that besides those of the *Reformed* Religion, there are *Roman-Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, *Brownists*, *Independents*, *Arminians*, *Anabaptists*, *Socinians*, *Arrians*, *Enthusiasts*, *Quakers*, *Borrelists*, *Armenians*, *Muscovites*, *Libertines*, and others. And there are in fine some whom we may call *Seekers*, because they are still seeking out for a Religion, and do not profess any of those which are already Establish'd. I give you no account of the *Jews*, the *Turks*, and the *Persians*, in regard that, as they are not Sects o

Christians

Christians, ſo what I might ſay of them would ſignifie nothing to the ſubject I have in hand. And ſince I am well ſatisfy'd, that there are not any *Turks* and *Perſians*, but what are in *Amſterdam*, or haply in ſome other Sea-Port-Towns, there is no conſequence deducible thence, for the Reſidence of any ſuch in the other Cities of that Country. Nor ſhall I ſay any thing of the *Armenians* and *Muſcovites*, who are all of the *Greek* Religion. And as I conceive, that there are only ſome Merchants of the one, and of the other of thoſe Nations, and that none of the Natives of the Country do profeſs their Religion; ſo I do not think there is any perſon, that will condemn the liberty which is given them, to ſerve God, according to the Ceremonies and Precepts of their Religion. And whereas, of all the other Religions, and Sects, we find a great number of perſons, born in that Country, who make an open and publick profeſſion thereof, I conceive you will not take it amiſs, that I ſhould here in few words, give you an account of the Opinions, of all the Religions, which are in this Country.

As to the Doctors and Profeſſors of our Religion, I queſtion not but you know, that they alſo differ amongſt themſelves, in many things. *Voëtius*, and *des Marets* have, by their diſputes, diſtracted and diſhumour'd all the Province of *Holland*, where they have been ſo violent, one againſt the other, that if men would believe either the one, or the other, they muſt, upon pain of Damnation, ſtick to the ſentiment of the one, and reject that of his Adverſary; *Voëtius* did, and ſtill does maintain, That it is Sacriledge, to leave the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues at the diſpoſal of Slothful Paunches, which are not any way ſerviceable to Church or State; That thoſe who are known by the name of *Lombards*, are not to be called, or admitted to the Lord's Supper, inaſmuch as, lending out Money at Intereſt, they exercife a profeſſion forbidden by the word of God; That the Sabbath-Day is to be very carefully and Religiouſly obſerv'd; That we ought not to Celebrate any Feſtival-Day, no not *Eaſter*, *Whitſuntide*, or *Chriſtmas*; That when we ſpeak of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, or Diſciples of *Jeſus Chriſt*, we are not to give any one the name of *Saint*, and that we are not to ſay, Saint *Peter*, Saint *Paul*, Saint *John*, Saint *Thomas*, but to ſay downright, *Peter*, *Paul*, *John*, and *Thomas*; and that all the Faithful ought to follow a ſevere kind of life, to retrench themſelves from the greateſt part even of the moſt innocent enjoyments of life, that:

that they may the better work out their Salvation with Fear and Trembling.

On the other side, *des Marets* is oppoſite to *Voetius*, almoſt in all theſe things, and hath argu'd againſt his Sentiments, with ſo much Animoſity, as if their Diſpute had been about thoſe points of Religion which are moſt important, and moſt neceſſary to Salvation. And I think they had not yet ended their Diſpute, if *Cocceius* had not publiſh'd ſome Opinions, which were diſpleaſing to both; upon which they thought fit to agree together, in order to the oppoſing of them.

This *Cocceius* was a Profeſſor of the Univerſity of *Leiden*, very well skill'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue, who read the Scripture with a continual attention, and has therein diſcover'd many things, which were not before known to any one, and hath penetrated into the myſtical and profound Sence of it. In all the Propheciés of the Old and New Teſtament, he almoſt every where finds the Reign of Chriſt, and that of Anti-Chriſt, which is oppoſite thereto. He has diſpos'd the œconomy of the Old and New Teſtament after a way not known before, and ſuch as had not yet been Eſtabliſh'd by any Doctor. He is the firſt that has diſcover'd, and taught, the difference there is, between the Government of the Church before the Law, and that under the Law, and that after the Law. He affirms, That before the Law, the *Promiſe* took place; during which time of the *Promiſe*, the Church was free. That to the *Promiſe*, God had added the *Law*, which, having been at firſt repreſented in the Decalogue, contains only an abridgment of the Covenant of Grace, and the Commandments of Faith, Repentance, and the Gratitude we owe to God; as it appears by the ſence of the Preface, and of all the Commandements in particular. He adds, That after the worſhipping of the Golden Calf, God, to Chaſtize his people for the Idolatry, which they had committed, had given them a Law, conſiſting of Ceremonial and Carnal Commandements, which were not good; having impos'd upon them a Yoke, by the Eſtabliſhment of his Ordinances and Ceremonies. Whence it comes, that the Law had been made, in appearance, a *Covenant of Works*, promiſing life to thoſe, who ſhould obey his Commandments, and denouncing malediction and death againſt thoſe, who ſhould tranſgreſs them.

It

It is also another perſuaſion of his, That the Commandement concerning the obſervation of the Sabbath-Day, was one of thoſe Ceremonial and Carnal Commandements, which have been abrogated by *Jeſus Chriſt*. During all the time before *Jeſus Chriſt* had paid the Father the price of our Redemption, he affirms, That all the Faithful were ſav'd, by the Security which *Jeſus Chriſt* had given for us; That the forgiving of Sins did not take place, otherwiſe than by a connivance of Grace, in as much as They were only under the Promiſe; the payment, or ſatisfaction, having not been yet made by *Jeſus Chriſt*. That the Law being added, as an obligation, did reproach the People with their ſins, and put them into a mindfulneſs thereof by the Sacrifices; and that it is upon that ſcore that the Ancient people were under ſervitude, and in fear of death, till ſuch time as *Jeſus Chriſt*, having, by his Blood, paid the Ranſom of our Sins, the Obligation, which was in force againſt them, being cancell'd, we have fully and perfectly obtain'd the pardon of our ſins. He is of Opinion, in fine, That there is to ſpring up in the World a Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which will aboliſh the reign of *Antichriſt*; and that, when they who ſhall have corrupted the Earth ſhall be deſtroy'd, the Church ſhall be in a happy condition in the World; And when there ſhall be a reſtauration of the Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt*, before the End of the World; and that after the Converſion of the *Jews*, and of all Nations, the *Catholick Church* ſhall ſcatter the rayes of its meridian light and glory, into all Parts of the World. He believes Her to be the Celeſtial *Hieruſalem*, which is deſcrib'd in the *Revelation*, the Emblem whereof repreſents to us the condition of the Church, ſuch as ſhe ought to be in her greateſt Splendour upon Earth, and not that which is to triumph in Heaven.

I thought my ſelf oblig'd to give you an account of the particular Sentiments of this Divine, becauſe he has a great number of followers; as alſo for this Reaſon, That *Voetius* and *des Marets* condemn his Opinions as Heretical; nay indeed repreſent him as a *Socinian*, in many things. They affirm, That he is an Innovator, and give him the title of *Scripturarius*; as if it were a great crime, to be cloſely addicted to the Scripture, and to make it the moſt important of our Studies. There are many other Divines, eſpecially ſuch as have ſtudied under the Profeſſors, whom I have before named, who obſtinately oppoſe his Sentiments, and en-

deavour to persecute, and to procure the condemnation of all his Disciples.

It is not requisite that I should give you any account of the *Roman Catholicks*, it being notorious to all the World, what their Sentiments are.

You know also, what the Opinions of the *Lutherans* are. The famous *Confession* which they made at *Ausbourg*, in the Year 1530, has made a sufficient discovery of them to all the World. True it is, that most of their Doctors have Opinions very different from their first Confession. They are divided amongst themselves, upon the score of very disconsonant Sentiments. But as that diversity is found only in those of them who are in *Germany*, I shall say nothing of it. They who are in this Country, keep closely enough to the Sentiment of their first Doctor. Only observe here, in what they differ from those who are in *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*. They do not use Auricular Confession; They have neither Images, nor Altars, in their Churches; Their *Ministers* wear no Sacerdotal habits; They have not the several Orders of *Priests*, *Deacons*, *Arch-Deacons*, and *Superintendents*, or *Bishops*, as they have in most other Parts.

The *Arminians* took their denomination from *Arminius*, their first Doctor, who was a famous Professor in the University of *Leyden*. They would rather be called *Remonstrants*, by reason of the Book, which they presented to the *States-General*, in the Year 1611. to which they had given the Title of *Remonstrance*, and which comprehended the principal Articles of their Belief. You know the Five remarkable Points, upon which they were condemn'd by the Synod of *Dort*, held in the Year 1618, in which were present some Divines of your *Cantons*, as also out of several Countries professing the *Reformed Religion*, as *England*, *Germany*, and other places. After the death of *Arminius*, and in the time of *Vorstius*, and of *Episcopius*, a most Eminent Doctor amongst them, they adopted many Errours of the *Socinians*. Nay most of them have deserted the Opinion of their first Master, upon the Point of *Predestination*, and Eternal *Election*. *Arminius* had taught, That God had Elected the Faithful, by the prevision of their Faith. And *Episcopius* is of Opinion, That God has not Elected any

any one from all Eternity, but that he does Elect the Faithful, in time, when they actually Believe. He speaks only in very doubtful and ambiguous terms of the Prescience of God, which was the great Fortress, in which *Arminius* secur'd himself. These same *Arminians* of the present time believe, That the Doctrine of the Trinity of Persons, in One only Essence, is not necessary to Salvation; That there is not any Precept in the Scripture, by which we are commanded to adore the Holy Ghost; nor any Example, or Indication, by which it appears, that the Holy Ghost has been ador'd; That *Jesus Christ* is not a God equal to the Father; That Faith in *Jesus Christ*, by which we are saved, hath not been commanded, nor took any place under the Old Covenant. Most of them do make it their study to avoid that Expression of the Satisfaction of *Jesus Christ*. *Episcopius*, in the mean time affirms, That *Jesus Christ* has, by his Passion and Death, so far satisfy'd God, as to render him Propitious to all Mankind, and ready, henceforwards, to receive all men into his Communion; provided they, by Faith, embrace that Propitiation of *Jesus Christ*; So that God being no longer displeas'd, there is no Enmity remaining, but what proceeds from Men, refusing to entertain the grace of *Jesus Christ*. They very earnestly press the Toleration of all the Opinions of those who profess *Christian* Religion; maintaining, That all Christians agree in the most Important, and, such as they call, the most Essential and Fundamental Points of Religion; That it has not been hitherto decided, by an Infallible Judgment, who they are amongst the *Christians*, who have embrac'd the Truest and Purest Religion, and such as is most conformable to the Word of God; That to the effect all may be mutually united, to make up one and the same Body or Church, and that they ought to love one another as Brethren, and not to have any enmity or animosity one against another, upon the score of their dissenting in some Points of Religion, especially such as are not of the most considerable. That men ought not to force any one to condemn, and renounce his own Sentiments, or to approve and follow those of another. They say, That heretofore amongst the *Jews*, the *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Esseni*, of whom the Sects were very different, and had most dangerous Opinions, were however tolerated by the *Jews*, and all receiv'd into the Temple, to present their Sacrifices and Prayers to God, and to perform all the other Functions of Religion. If *Arminius* were to come into

the World again, certainly, he would not own most of those who bear his Name, to be his Disciples. And yet there are some amongst them, who have not added any thing to his Sentiments. But they all agree in this point, That all Christians ought to be Tolerated; either that all-together they might make up but one and the same Church, or that every one may be allow'd the liberty of his Religion.

The *Brownists* have many great Assemblies in the Low-Countries. They are a sort of people separated from the *English* Church, and from all the other *Reformed* Churches, which they think to be corrupted, not as to the Doctrinal Points of Faith, concurring in that respect, with those of the *Reformed* Religion of *Holland*, *Germany*, and other places, but as to the Form of Government. They equally condemn *Episcopal* Government, and that of the *Presbyterians*, by *Consistories*, *Classes*, and *Synods*. They will not joyn with our Churches, for this reason, as they say, that they are not assur'd of the Conversion, and Probity of the Members, whereof they consist, because they therein suffer Sinners, with whom men ought not to communicate; and that in the participation of the Sacraments, the good contract impurity in the Communion of the wicked. They condemn the benediction of the Marriages, which are celebrated in Churches by the Ministers, maintaining, That, being a Political Contract, the confirmation of it depends on the Civil Magistrate. They would not have their Children to be baptiz'd, who are not Members of the Church, or are not as careful, as they ought to be, of the Children that have been baptiz'd. They reject all Forms of Prayers; nay they affirm, That the Prayer, which our Lord has taught us, ought not to be recited as a Prayer, but that it was given us to be the Rule and Model, by which we ought to frame all those, which we present to God. They reject the Use of Bells, and Churches, especially such as they say had been Consecrated to Idolatry.

The *Independents* are a brood of the *Brownists*. *John Robinson*, an *English* man, is the Father of all those who are in this Country. They believe, That every Church, or, as they call it, every particular Congregation, has in it self, radically, and essentially, whatever is for its conduct and government, and all Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction. That such a Church, or Congrega-

tion

tion, is not subject either to one, or more Churches, or to their Deputies, or Assemblies, or Synods, or to any Bishop; Or that any one Church, or Assembly has any power over any other Church whatsoever. That every particular Church ought to manage its own affairs, without any dependence on any other; and hence it comes, that such as follow these Sentiments, have the denomination of *Independents*. And though they do not think there is any necessity of assembling Synods, yet they affirm, That if any be assembled, there ought to be a consideration of their resolutions, as of the counsels of wise and prudent men, whereto a certain submission is due; and not as definitions, and establishments, requiring conformity and obedience. They are willing to acknowledge, that one or more Churches may be assistant to another Church, as to advice, and admonition; nay that they may reprove it, if there be any offence; yet not upon the account of any superiour authority, which has any power of Excommunication, but as a Sister-Church, declaring, That she cannot have any communion with such a Church as hath offended, and does not demean her self, according to the Rules and Commandements of *Jesus Christ*.

And these are the Particular Sentiments of the *Independents*, in reference to the Government of the Church. Their very Name had render'd them very odious even to the *Protestants*; but the Confession of Faith, which their Brethren of *England* publish'd, when they assembled at *London*, in the Year 1651. has made it appear, That they have not otherwise any particular sentiment, as to matter of Doctrine, but that in reference to that, they concurre in all things with those of the *Reformed* Religion. I have hitherto given you an account of but Three or Four different *Religions*, or rather *Persuasions*; but this Letter being come to a considerable Length, I will adjourn what I have to say of the other Sects of this Countrey, to the next opportunity I shall have to write to you, remaining, in the mean time,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble, &c.

The

The Third LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

I Am now, according to my promiſe, to give you an account of all the different Sects, or Religions, which are in this Country. They, who, in other places are called *Anabaptiſts*, are known, in theſe Provinces, by the denomination of *Mennonites*, and have deriv'd that Name from *Menno*, a Man born at a Village of *Friezland*, in the Year 1496. Not that the ſaid *Menno* was the firſt Father of the *Anabaptiſts* in this Country; but that he, having rejected the Enthuſiaſmes and Revelations of the Primitive *Anabaptiſts*, and their Opinions concerning the new Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which they pretended to eſtabliſh upon Earth by force of Arms, has broach'd certain new doctrines, which his Followers have embrac'd, and perſiſted in to this day.

Their Tenets are theſe; That the New Teſtament only, and not the Old, ought to be the Rule of our Faith.

That in ſpeaking of the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*, there is no neceſſity of uſing the terms of *Perſons*, or the *Trinity*.

That the firſt Productions of the Creation, as to Mankind, were not created in a ſtate of Juſtice and Holineſs.

That there is no ſuch thing as Original Sin.

That *Jeſus Chriſt* did not take Fleſh of the ſubſtance of his Mother, *Mary*, but of the Eſſence of the Father; or that the Word was changed into Man, or that he brought it from Heaven, or that it is not known whence he took it.

That

That the Union of the Divine Nature with the Humane, in *Jesus Christ*, was so made, that the Divine Nature was render'd visible, subject to Suffering, and death.

That it is not lawful for *Christians* to swear, to exercise any charge of Civil Magistracy, or to make Use of the Sword, not even to punish the wicked, or to oppose force with force, or to engage in a War, upon any account, or occasion.

That a man may, in this life, come to that pitch of Perfection, as to have an accomplish'd Purity, and to be without any defilement of Sin.

That it is not lawful for the Ministers of the Word to receive any Salary of their Churches, for the Pains they take.

That little Children ought not to be baptiz'd.

That the Souls of men, after their death, rest in an unknown place, till the day of Judgment.

These *Mennonites* are divided into several Sects, upon very slight occasions. Of these Sects, there are two of a considerable standing, whereof one is that of the ancient *Mennonites* of *Flanders*; The other, that of the *Mennonites* of *Friezland*. Those of *Flanders* exercise Ecclesiastical discipline, with extraordinary severity, and excommunicate those of their Sects, for very trivial miscarriages. They are of a persuasion, That it is not lawful to eat, or drink, or to have any communication, no, not as to the Concerns of a Civil Life, with those who are Excommunicated. They, by that means, make a division between Husbands, and their Wives, Children, and their Parents; maintaining, That all the Obligations of Friendship and Society are to be cancell'd with those, whom the Church has anathematiz'd.

Those of *Friezland* receive into their Communion such as have been rejected by the other Sects of the *Mennonites*; and they exercise so great a relaxation in their discipline, that they entertain all sorts of polluted persons into their society; and for that reason are they called *Borborita*, or *Stercorarii*. But as there are, even amongst

amongst them, some more scrupulous than others, so they also are parcell'd into divers Sects, upon very slight, and trivial occasions. I shall only give an account of one, by which a judgment may be made of the rest. There is one Sect of them called *Mamillarii*, upon this score, That a Young Man had taken the freedom to put his hand into a Young Maids Bosome, whom he was then courting, and, within a few dayes, to marry. Some amongst them maintain'd, That he ought to be Excommunicated; and others condemning that severity, there happen'd a Schisme. They, who would not have the Young Man to be Excommunicated, were called *Mamillarii*. There are daily divisions, and separations amongst them; and assoon as they chance to be ejected out of one Society, they find a reception in some other.

Many amongst the *Mennonites* have embrac'd most of the Opinions of the *Socinians*, or rather those of the *Arrians*, concerning the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. They generally press that Toleration of all Sects, which is so earnestly recommended by the *Arminians*. It is their persuasion, That they ought not to expell out of their assemblies, any man who leads a devout life, and acknowledges, That the Holy Scripture is the Word of God, though the same Man does not agree with the others, in many things which are accounted Articles of Faith. These last are, by the others, called *Galenists*, taking their name from one *Galenus*, a Physician of *Amsterdam*, a very Eloquent, Learned, and well-Experienc'd Man, and one who is charged to be an absolute *Socinian*.

The *Socinians* deny the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, the Existence of the Holy Ghost, Original Sin, the Satisfaction of *Jesus Christ*, the Resurrection of the Reprobate, and the Reassumption of the same Bodies which the Faithful had, during their abode in this World. Their publick Assemblies are forbidden, but they lurk under the names of *Arminians* and *Anabaptists*. They have also their secret Assemblies, in which they are very fervent in Prayer to God, with groaning and weeping. They make it their Complaint, That they are odious to, and abominated by most *Christians*, upon the score of the doctrine which they profess. They affirm, That they have no Interest in the maintaining of it, save only the persuasion they have of its truth, and the zeal of appropriating to its only individual, and Sovereign God, the Father of our Lord

Jesus

Jesus Christ, the glory of his Divinity. They are further of opinion, that having been confirm'd in their Faith by the reading of the Word of God, and by the Books which have been written against them, they make it their earnest and humble Suit to that great God, That, if they are in any error, he would discover it to them, that they may renounce it, and give his Truth the glory. Their conversation is holy and without reproach, as far as men can judg by what they see; and that conversation is absolutely modell'd according to the Precepts of *Jesus Christ*; and it externally appears, that since they are not much concern'd for the things of this World, their care is the greater, to perform the works of Devotion and Charity, and to promote the Salvation of their Souls. They wholly employ themselves in the reading of the Word of God, in which they are so well vers'd, that most of them seem to have it by heart. In the Assemblies they make for their exercises of Piety, all that are present have the liberty of speaking. One amongst them begins to read a Chapter of the Scripture; and when he has read several Verses of it, till he has come to a full Paragraph, he who reads, and they who hear, do respectively give their Sentiments, concerning the sence of the words, which have been read to them. But what is most surprizing, is, that though the greatest part of them be illiterate, and men of no study at all, as being Merchants, or Tradesmen, yet they all seem to have a particular Talent, for the understanding, and exposition of the Holy Scripture. Nay it is reported, that the Learned amongst them, who have written Commentaries, or Annotations, upon the Holy Scripture, have every where done very well, save only in those places, where their own prejudgments have engag'd them to accommodate the Scripture to their own Erroneous Sence. So that it may be said of them, as I think I have heard it heretofore said, of *Origen*, *Ubi benè, nemo melius, ubi malè, nemo pejus*; *Where he had done well, no man could have done better; and where he had done ill, no man could do worse.*

Having given you this Summary account of the *Socinians*, my next work is to give you that of the *Arrians*. Those last are very numerous in this Country, and many amongst the *Socinians* have embrac'd their Opinions. You know what were the Sentiments of the *Arrians*, concerning the Birth of *Jesus Christ*. They believ'd, That the *Word*, the *Intellect*, and the *Word of God*, had

had been created before all the Creatures; That God had made Use of it, in the old Testament, as of an Interpreter of a Mediator, when he had something to declare, to the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*. That that word, *his*, by a voluntary annihilation, animated the Body of Jesus Christ, as the Spirit of Man animates his Body, the Word having taken Flesh only, without Soul, and without Spirit. Nay they were also of a persuasion, That all the Souls of other men were Spirits, subsisting before the Bodies, and that they assum'd not the name of Souls, till such time as they actually animated their Bodies. *Christopher Sandius*, a Gentleman of *Poland*, Son to a Councellor of the Elector of *Brandeburgh*, was the Restaurator of the *Arrian* Sect in this Country. His habitation, for some Years past, has been at *Amsterdam*. Among other works, he has written two Books which I have seen, whereof one is entituled, *The Paradoxall Interpretations of the Four Evangelists*. The other is, *An Ecclesiastical History*, in which he proves, or pretends to prove; *That all the Doctors, commonly called the* Fathers of the Church, *who flourish'd from the time of the Apostles, to that of* Arrius, *had the same Sentiments as he had, concerning the Mystery of the Trinity.*

The *Borrellists* had their name from one *Borrell*, the Ringleader of their Sect, a man very Learned, especially in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine* Tongues. He was Brother to Monsieur *Borrell*, Ambassador from the *States-General*, to his most *Christian* Majesty. These *Borrellists* do, for the most part, maintain the Opinions of the *Mennonites*, though they come not to their Assemblies. They have made choice of a most austere kind of Life, spending a considerable part of their Estates, in Alms-giving, and a careful discharge of all the Duties incumbent upon a Christian. They have an aversion for all Churches, as also for the Use of the Sacrament, publick Prayers, and all other external Functions of God's Service. They maintain, That all the Churches which are in the World, and have been ever since the death of the Apostles, and their first subsequent Successors, have degenerated from the pure Doctrine which they had Preach'd to the World; for this reason, That they have suffered the infallible word of God, contain'd in the Old and New Testament, to be expounded and corrupted, by Doctors, who are not infallible, and would have their own Confessions, their Catechisms, and their Liturgies, and their Sermons, which are the works of men, to pass for what they really are not, to wit, for

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the pure word of God. They hold also, That men are not to read any thing but the word of God alone, without any additional explication of men. Another perſuaſion they have, is, That if there ſhould be any Aſſembly, wherein men would content themſelves with the bare reading of the word of God (however the perſons who might be deſirous to be receiv'd into it, may demean themſelves) provided they acknowledg the Holy Scripture to be the Word of God, they ought to be receiv'd into its Communion.

The *Enthuſiaſts*, or *Quakers*, who affirm, That what they ſay, or do, is by Divine Inſpiration, maintain, That the Holy Scripture ought to be explicated, according to the light of that Divine Inſpiration, without which it is but a dead Letter, written to Children, and not to perfect and ſpiritual men; and that it is not the true, only, and perfect Word of God, or the Compleat and Neceſſary Rule of Faith. They maintain, That their own private Spirit is the true, internal, and ſpiritual Word of God, the Rule and the Judg of the Scriptures: That men ought to hearken to, and follow that Spirit, and not the words of the Scripture. That a man has, within himſelf, and in his own Spirit, an infallible Teacher, who, if he hearkens to him, will inform him of all he is to believe, or do, in order to his Salvation. That they who hearken to that Spirit are united to God, and that ſuch union makes them Gods. When they are in their Aſſemblies, they continue a long time in a ſitting poſture, without ſpeaking, and many times without ſo much as ſtirring, for the ſpace of one or two hours; and there is nothing heard of them, unleſs it be ſome ſighs and groans, till ſuch time as ſome one among them, feeling the agitation and ſtirring of the Spirit, riſes up, and ſpeaks the things which the Spirit commands him to ſpeak. Nay many times, the Women are ſenſible of thoſe motions of the Spirit, which occaſion their ſpeaking, or holding forth, in the Congregation of their Brethren. In their ordinary diſcourſes, they ſpeak of their Ecſtaſies, and Revelations, and will be always ſure, to add very ſevere cenſures of all other Chriſtians. They very vehemently declaim againſt Vices, and with great earneſtneſs preſs the mortification of the Fleſh. They challenge all thoſe who are in the Aſſembly, and conjure them to ſpeak, if there be any one that has ought to object againſt what the Spirit has inſpir'd them to deliver. And this occaſions the frequent

disputes and quarrels, which happen amongst them. Nay it comes to pass sometimes, that after they have for a good while expected the coming, and inspiration of the Spirit, not any one amongst them being sensible of its heat and motion in himself, they depart from the place where they were Assembled, without any one's having held forth.

As to the *Libertines*, they seem to have each of them his particular Sentiment to himself. But most of them are of this persuasion, that there is only one Spirit of God, which is universally diffus'd, and lives in all Creatures. That the Substance and Immortality of our Souls, is not any thing but that Spirit of God. That God himself is not any thing but that Spirit. That mens Souls die with their Bodies. That Sin is not any thing. That it is but a simple opinion, which immediately vanishes, provided there be no account made of it. That Paradise is but an illusion, a pleasant *Chimera*, which the Divines have invented, to engage men, to embrace that which they call Virtue. That Hell also is but a vain Fancy, which the same Divines have fram'd, to divert men from that which they call Sin; that is to say, to hinder them from being happy in doing what they please. They affirm, in fine, That Religion is only an invention of Politicians, to keep the people, by the fear of a Divinity, in a subjection to their Laws, in order to the better Regulation and Government of the Commonwealth.

In short, there are in this Country a vast number of persons, as I know there were heretofore in *England*, who go under the denomination of *Seekers*. It is the acknowledgment of these people, That there is one true Religion, which *Jesus Christ* has brought us from Heaven, and which he has reveal'd to us in his Word; but they maintain withal, That that true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, which we ought to profess, in order to the attainment of Salvation, is not any one of those Religions, which are Establish'd amongst *Christians*. They have some particular exception to make against every one of those Religions, and they condemn them all in general. In a word, They have not pitch'd upon any one determinate Religion, as being still concern'd upon the *Seeking* account. They read and meditate the Holy Scriptures with great attention. They pray to God with a fervent Zeal, That he would illuminate them in the knowledg of that Religion, which they ought to embrace,

brace, in order to the ſerving of him according to his Will, and for the acqueſt of that everlaſting Felicity, which he has promis'd his Children.

I ſhould not think, that I have given you an account of all the Religions and Perſuaſions of this Country, if I ſhould omit the ſaying of a word, or two, of an Illuſtrious and Learned man, who, as I have been aſſur'd, has a great number of Followers, and thoſe, ſuch as keep cloſely to his Sentiments. He is a man, by birth a *Jew*, whoſe name is *Spinoſa*, one that has not abjur'd the Religion of the *Jews*, nor embrac'd the *Chriſtian* Religion: So that he continues ſtill a moſt wicked *Jew*, and has not the leaſt tincture of Chriſtianity. Some Years ſince he put forth a Book, entituled, *Tractatus Theologo-Politicus*, wherein his principal deſign is, to deſtroy all Religions, and particularly the *Jewiſh* and the *Chriſtian*, and to introduce *Atheiſme*, *Libertiniſme*, and the free Toleration of all Religions. He maintains, That they were all invented, for the advantage and conveniences, which the Publick receives thereby, to the end that all perſons ſubject to Government may live honeſtly, and obey their Magiſtrates, and that they may addict themſelves to Virtue, not out of the hope or expectation of any reward after death, but for the intrinſick excellency of Virtue in it ſelf, and for the advantages which accrue to thoſe who follow it, in this life. He does not, in that Book, make an open diſcovery of the opinion which he has of the Divinity, but he does however ſo far inſinuate it, as that we may gueſs at his meaning, whereas in his Diſcourſes, he boldly affirms, That God is not a Being endow'd with Intelligence, Infinitely-Perfect, and Bliſsful, as we imagine him to be; but that he is not any thing elſe, but that Virtue of Nature, which is diffus'd into all the Creatures.

This *Spinoſa* is now living in this Country. His Reſidence was, for ſome time, at the *Hague*, where he was viſited by the *Virtuoſi*, and all others who pretended to more then ordinary Curioſity; nay by ſome young Ladies of Quality, who pride themſelves in being more ingenious, then is requiſite for their Sex. His followers are ſomewhat cautious in diſcovering themſelves, becauſe his Book, before-mention'd, does abſolutely ſubvert the very Foundations of all Religions, and has been condemn'd by a publick Edict of the *States-General*, and a prohibition put upon the Sale of it; and yet it

it is publickly Sold. Amongſt all the Divines, of whom there is a great number in this Country, there has not ſtood up any one, that has preſum'd to write againſt the opinions which this Author advances in the afore-ſaid Treatiſe. And I am the more ſurpriz'd thereat, for this reaſon, that the Author, making a diſcovery of his great knowledg of the *Hebrew* Tongue, as alſo of all the Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Religion, of all the Cuſtoms of the *Jews*, and of the Heatheniſh Philoſophy; the Divines of the Reformation cannot ſay, but that the Book does well deſerve, that they ſhould take the pains to refute it. For if they ſtill continue ſilent, men cannot forbear affirming, that either they are defective in point of Charity, in ſuffering ſo pernicious a Book to be ſcatter'd up and down without any Anſwer thereto, or that they approve the Sentiments of that Author; or that they have not the courage and abilities to oppoſe them.

And thus, Reverend Sir, have I given you an account of the different Sects of *Chriſtians* which are in this Country, and which have all, in a manner, the freedom of Exerciſing the Religions which they profeſs. I leave you to make thereupon what reflections you ſhall think fit. It will be no hard matter for me, to deduce, from this diverſity of Sects, ſuch convincing Reaſons, as ſhall prove what I have before advanced, to wit, *That the States-General are not of our Reformed Religion.* In the firſt place, it cannot be affirmed, that this State is of the *Reformed* Religion, upon the ſcore of the number of thoſe who make profeſſion of it. For, though it cannot be preciſely known, what number there are of perſons profeſſing the *Calviniſtical* way of *Reformation*, which is commonly called the *Reformed Religion*, in theſe Provinces, yet this is ſtill out of all queſtion, That the number of thoſe who are not of it, is incomparably greater than that of thoſe who do profeſs it. Having thereupon conſulted ſome of the Inhabitants, they have aſſur'd me, That there may be a Tripartite Diviſion made of the people of theſe Provinces, and that the three parts may be ſomething towards an equality. The one is of the *Reformed Religion*; another, of the *Roman-Catholicks*; and the third, of the *Sectaries*. I ſhould never have thought, that the number of the *Roman-Catholicks* had been ſo great. It is certain, that a conſiderable part of the Inhabitants of Great Cities, and the greateſt part of thoſe of the Campaigne, and of the Boors of that Country,

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are *Roman-Catholicks*; and there are assuredly at least as many of those of the *Reformed Religion*. And if we put together all the *Sectaries*, they also, doubtless, make up a third part of the Inhabitants of these Provinces. If therefore the Domination, and the Denomination, ought to be deduc'd from the greatest part, those of the *Reformed Religion* being, at most, but a third part of the people of this Country, cannot give the whole State the Denomination of being of the *Reformed Religion*. It cannot therefore be such, upon any other account than this, that our *Reformed Religion* has been Establish'd, and the others forbidden, by the publick Edict before-mentioned. It might indeed be granted, that it deserv'd that name, if that Ordinance had been put in execution; but that having not been executed, the name cannot be justly given it. But that being a matter requiring much discussion, I shall wave it at this time, and make it the subject of my next to you; and so I shall make no addition to this, save only that of assuring you of my being,

Reverend Sir,

Utrecht, May 7th. 1673.

Your most humble, &c.

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The Fourth LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

YOu have obſerv'd in my firſt Letter, That the *States-General* have always given Liberty of Conſcience to all ſorts of perſons, and allow'd the publick exerciſe, in a manner, of all Religions. You thereby find, that they never executed the Ordinance which they made in the Year 1583. to wit, *That not any Religion ſhould be thenceforwards receiv'd, nor the exerciſe of any other be permitted, then that which was publickly taught in the Seven Provinces, and which is the Reformed Religion.* It will be no hard matter for me to prove to you thereby, That what external profeſſion ſoever the *United Provinces* have hitherto made of the *Reformed Religion*, if we ſearch the buſineſs to the bottom, it will appear, that they neither are, nor ever were of it.

While the free exerciſe of all Religions was permitted by all the publick Decrees, you will certainly acknowledg, That then the *States* were not yet of our *Reformed* way of Religion. For if you make this concluſion, That theſe Provinces were at that time of our Religion, becauſe there was a publick profeſſion of our Religion made in them, I ſhall, with the ſame reaſon, make this, That they were *Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, and *Anabaptiſts*, becauſe, at that time, there was a publick Profeſſion made in them of all thoſe Religions. Let us therefore examine, what Ordinances theſe Provinces made afterwards, which might give them the name, which they are ſo deſirous to have, of our *Reformed Religion*. I have told you heretofore, That it was in the Year 1572. that our *Reformed* way of Religion, ſuch as it was taught at *Geneva*, in your Cantons, and in the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, was receiv'd in theſe Provinces, for the only publick Religion. But the very Ordinance, which eſtabliſh'd our Religion to be the publick Religion, Did alſo openly confirm the *Liberty of Conſcience* of all ſorts of Religions, with an expreſs prohibition, for

for the Disturbing or Molesting of any Person whatsoever upon that account.

The difference there upon this Score, between the *States-General*, and all the other Estates of our *Reformed* Religion, was so great, that I cannot imagine you should think the one and the others to be of the same Religion. The *United Provinces* had ordain'd it by a publick Decree, That the free Exercise of all Religions should be permitted. The *Elector Palatine*, the City of *Geneva*, and your *Cantons* did not, in any part of their Territories, permit the Exercise of any Religion, ever so little different from ours. I question not but that you know, the *Elector-Palatine* did, at the beginning, follow the Confession of *Auxbourg*, which was received in all his Dominions; and that, since that time, having embrac'd our *Reformed* way of Religion, and having establish'd it in his Country, he order'd all the *Lutherans*, who would not make profession thereof, to depart out of it. It is doubtless, no small trouble to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, to see that most of his Subjects are *Lutherans*, that there are many of them *Catholicks*, and but very few of the *Calvinistical* reformed way of Religion. But, as you know, it is not above sixty years since that Electoral House began to make profession of our Reformed Religion, yet so, that he could not oblige his Subjects, either his embrace the same, or to quit that which they had profess'd for a long time before. *John Sigismond*, who died in the Year 1619. and was Grandfather to the Elector now reigning, was the first Renouncer of the *Lutheran* Religion, which he and some of the Ancestors had till then profess'd, and first the Profession of our *Reformed* way. He publish'd a Confession of Faith, in the Year 1614. In the Preface of it, he saies, That it was about eighty Years, since *Joakim*, he *Second*, had renounced the Ceremonies of the *Roman* Church; But that having retain'd a Doctrine upon the Point of the Eucharist, which was not conformable to the Truth, and some other things in the Temples, which were not allowable, he had apply'd, himself to the correcting of all Abuses, in order to a full and perfect Reformation. And yet the greatest part of his Subjects, having, near fourscore years before, embrac'd the *Lutheran Religion*, he was so far from obliging them to quit it, and to embrace the Profession of ours, that, in many parts of his Territories, nay even at *Berlin* it self, which is the principal City of his Residence, he has

not the Liberty of having the particular Exercise of our Religion, for any but himself and those of his Houshold. No doubt but he wishes that he could follow the example of other Estates, who do profess it, in not permitting the Exercise of any other in all his Dominions.

There is not any necessity of my telling you, That there never was, either at *Geneva*, or in your *Cantons*, any permission, I do not say of the Exercise of our Religion, but even of Habitation, for those whose profess a Religion different from ours. That being so, I assure my self, of your being perswaded, that one and the same Religion cannot inspire those who profess it, with sentiments that are contradictory, and with an absolutely opposite Conduct and deportment.

There may be some in the World, who would say, That interest of State obliged the *Palatinate*, the City of *Geneva*, and your *Cantons*, to proceed one way, and that the same interest of State obliges the *United Provinces* to take a quite different Course, in the same case, and upon the same Occasion. But I do not imagine, that you approve that strange Maxim of some Politicians, who accommodate Religion to the Interest of State; and I hope, you will acknowledge, that they, who do so, have not any at all. At the very time that our Religion was establish'd by a publick Decree, Liberty of Conscience was also solemnly confirm'd, by the Union of *Utrecht*. Nay it is expresly granted, That, as to matter of Religion, *Every Seignory or Province, should make such regulation as it thought fit, according to its own customes.* It is therefore manifest, That the united Provinces cannot be said to be of the *Reformed Religion*, according to the *Calvinistical* way, but only from that time, and by Reason of the Regulation which they made in the Year 1583. But if, as I think I have evidently made it appear, the States have no other ground than that, from which they may have the demonination of being of the *Reformed Religion*, methinks I shall without much ado, make it further appear to you, that they have not any at all.

If then the Decree they made, by which it was expresly ordained, That there should not be the permission of any Religion amongst them, but of ours only, does justly give them the Name

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of a State of that *Reformed Religion*, the continual Conduct which they have hitherto obſerv'd, in a conſtant Practice of what is quite contrary to the Ordinance, does, if I miſtake not, deprive them of the Name, which they pretended to, by its Eſtabliſhment. I do not think, Sir, that you will undertake to maintain, That for a State to be of our *Reformed Religion*, it needs do no more, than make a Decree, by which it declares a Reſolution to profeſs it, and not to permit in its Territories the Exerciſe of any other Religion; when, inſtead of a ſincere Accompliſhment of what had been reſolved by its Decree, it is ſo far from performing of any thing of it, that it acts directly contrary thereto. I do not imagine you will pretend, That State to be of our Religion, by Virtue of a Decree, which it makes, and never did put in Execution. You will tell me, That the *States-General* are of our Religion, becauſe they affirm it, and make a publick Profeſſion thereof. And I, on the other ſide, maintain, that That is not ſufficient, for their aſſuming a name which they do not deſerve, ſince they deſtroy the external Profeſſion they make of it, by a Practice quite oppoſite, and very odious to all thoſe of the Religion. If they permitted in their Country but one or two Religions, whoſe Sentiments were not much different from ours, and that in ſome of the leſs principal, and leſſer important Points, there would be no great Cauſe for men to wonder at it. It might be urged, That Prudence and Charity oblig'd them, to have ſome Complyance for Chriſtians, who, as to the principal Part, retain the ground-work of Faith, though they have not received ſuch Illuminations from God, as might create a Belief of all our Myſteries. But is there any thing in the World ſo ſurprizing, as our finding, That the States give an unlimited liberty to all Sorts of Religions, inſomuch, That in the very Province of *Holland*, there are more diſcover'd and acknowledg'd Sects, than there are in all the other Parts of *Europe*, and that there is not any Maſter-Heretick, who has a mind to frame a new Sect, but is there kindly received, to teach and propagate his Religion, and to make a publick Profeſſion thereof?

Some Years ſince, *John Labadie*, the Apoſtate, having been depos'd and excommunicated by the *Walloon-Churches* of this Country, addreſſed himſelf to the *Heer Van Beuningben*, deſiring to be taken into his Protection, *Van Beuningben* makes him this Anſwer, *That as long as he was willing to continue in the*

Communion of the Walloon-Churches, *he was oblig'd to submit to their Ordinances and Discipline; but that if he would frame a new Sect, he should participate of the Protection which the States granted to all sorts of Religions.* I do not question but you know the said person, and are, doubtless, able to judge, That it was not out of any Scruple of Conscience, that he thought it not convenient, to establish his Sect in this Countrey. He had amongst his Devotes, the Illustrious Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Mary de Schurmans*, and other young Ladies, of more than ordinary quality; but being in some Fear, That their Relations might get them out of his Society, which began to be cry'd down, and to appear very scandalous; he thought it his better way, to settle himself elsewhere, with his sanctified Company of both Sexes, whom he took along with him. Had he thought it convenient, to make his Abode in this Country, he would have augmented the Number of Sects, which have their Establishment here, and made some Additions to the Religions, which have a publick Liberty in these parts.

But though this *Liberty of Conscience*, is of so great a Latitude as I have told you, yet I am in some suspense, whether you know it to be so comprehensive, as to extend to the countenancing and protecting of those *Hereticks*, whom you would sentence to death, if they were amongst you. This I am satisfied you know, That, above a hundred years ago, your *Canton*, and the Republick of *Geneva*, condemned *Michael Servetus*, and *Scipio Gentilis*, to be burnt alive, for the erroneous Opinions they held, concerning the Trinity. The principal Errours, upon which they were Indicted, are much the same, or, at least, are not more dangerous, than those which the *Socinians* maintain, upon the same Mystery of *Christian* Religion. Do you not then wonder at the extraordinary difference there is, between the Conduct observ'd by your *Canton*, and the Republick of *Geneva*, towards those two ancient *Hereticks*, and that which the States observe, in reference to the *Socinians*, who propagate the same Heresies, or others that are equally pernicious? *Geneva*, and your *Canton* could not endure the one, *Servetus*, and the other, *Gentilis*; and pass'd their judgment, that they both deserv'd death. The *States-General* do, without any Scruple, suffer a great number of *Socinians*, most of whom are born and brought up amongst them, and never had the least thought of doing them any harm, upon the score of their Religion.

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Your *Canton*, and the City of *Geneva* would have thought themſelves guilty of a great Crime againſt God, if they had not, by death, taken off theſe two *Hereticks*, who hold ſuch ſtrange Errours, againſt the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But the *States-General* would think they had committed a great Sin againſt God, if they ſhould put any of the *Socinians* to death, whatever their Errours may be. Your *Cantons*, and the City of *Geneva*, thought themſelves ob'ig'd in Conſcience, out of their zeal for the Glory of God, and *Chriſtian* Religion, to take all the Courſes imaginable, for the ſmothering of thoſe Hereſies, which are ſo deſtructive to our Principal Myſteries. The *States-General* have, on the contrary, done all that lay in their Power, to countenance and to improve them.

Not many years ago, the Books of the *Socinians* were very ſcarce. Amongſt thoſe which had come forth into the World, as they had been printed in very remote places, and but very few Copies had been taken off, ſo were there not any to be had, but at very dear Rates; nay moſt of them were not to be had at all. The *States-General* have out of their ſpecial Favour and Indulgence, and out of an unparallel'd tenderneſs of Conſcience, found out a Remedy for that inconvenience. To ſatisfy the *Socinians*, and thoſe who were deſirous to become their Proſelytes, they have permitted the works of Four of their principal Doctors to be printed, at *Amſterdam*; to wit, thoſe of *Socinus*, *Crellius*, *Slichtingius*, and *Wolfogenius*.

At this very time, there is publickly ſold at *Amſterdam*, that Library of the *Socinians*, in Eight Volumes, in folio, which coſts but a hundred *Guilders*. Not many years ſince, two hundred Piſtols would not have purchaſed one part of thoſe Works, which at preſent may be had altogether for leſs than ten. True it is, That not long ſince, there was burnt at *Amſterdam*, a certain book of the *Socinians*; but it was done, no doubt, upon the very Intreaty of *William Bleau*, for whom it had been printed. Not many dayes after that publick Execution, he publickly expos'd the very ſame Book to ſale, and the more to recommend the ſale of it, and to enhaunce the Price of it, he had got an Advertiſement put into the Title-Page, that it was the very ſame Book, which had been, by Order of the *States*, condemn'd to be publickly burnt, by the hand of the common Executioner.

I question not, but you have had the relation, or haply you your self remember it very well, how that not much above Forty years ago, the Magistrate of *Geneva* caused *Nicholas Anthony* a Minister at *Divonne*, in the Balliage of *Gex*, to be burnt alive, upon a discovery made, of his being a *Jew*. The Twelve Articles, which he signed, and upon which an Indictment was drawn up against him, make it evidently appear, that he did not believe any one of our Mysteries of the Incarnation, and Death of *Jesus Christ*, for the Salvation of men, and that he expected the coming of *Jesus Christ*, as the *Jews* do expect him, for their Deliverance, and the Establishment of a Temporal Kingdom upon Earth. No doubt but you know, that the *Jews* are very numerous in this Country; that they have an absolute Liberty, and their Synagogue, in which they make their Assemblies for the Service of God, and that there never was the least Thought of driving them hence, or putting any one of them to death.

You know also, better than I do my self, what you did at *Berne*, in reference to some *Mennonites*, who were found in your Territories. They gave them the dreadful name of *Anabaptists*, purposely to render them odious, and abominable to all your people. You cast them into Prison, and you there kept them a long time, out of the Zeal you had for your own Religion, and the aversion you had to theirs; nay, for a certain time, you would not set them at liberty, in order to their departure, with what they had, into some other Parts. But at last, you granted them that Favour, and it is not unlikely, that you did it upon the Intreaty of the Magistrate of *Roterdam*, who writ to you a very pressing Letter on their Behalf. Some years before, the Canton of *Schasfhouse*, had also banish'd out of their Territories, certain *Mennonites*, and thought they had done them a kindness, in permitting them to take along with them what effects they had, into some other parts. Nay, I have been also assured, that not many Years since, a certain Number of *Mennonites* being, to their Misfortune, found in the Canton of *Zeurich*, they were taken into custody, and had indictments drawn up against them, on these two Capital Crimes.

There were at that time some Companies raising, upon some extraordinary occasion which the Magistrates had, for the safety

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of the Country. The *Mennonites* would have excuſed themſelves, from being liſted in thoſe Companies, alledging, That they did not believe a Chriſtian could, with a good Conſcience, bear arms, upon any occaſion whatſoever. They preferr'd however, voluntarily to lay down what money ſhould be required of them, for the payment of ſuch Perſon, as might be put in to ſerve in their ſtead. They would moreover engage them to oblige themſelves by Oath, to be faithfull to the State, and to obey their Magiſtrates. They acknowledged, That they were in Conſcience, oblig'd to that Duty, and that they ſhould be very careful in the diſcharging of it; They promis'd to do ſo, and declar'd, that they conceiv'd themſelves as deeply engag'd, by their bare word, as if they had confirm'd it with a ſolemn Oath; But that they could not be induc'd to take any, for this Reaſon, that they believed, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had commanded ſuch as profeſs'd *Chriſtianity*, ſimply to ſay, *Yea*, for the affirming of a thing, and *Nay*, for the denying of it, expreſly forbidding them to ſwear, upon any occaſion whatſoever.

The Magiſtrate of *Zurich*, judging that thoſe two Errours were pernicious to the State, paſs'd this Order againſt the Authors thereof, *That within Fifteen dayes, they were to depart out of* Switzerland, *and to remove thence all their Effects, and Concerns, or abjure their Doctrine, be ready to take their Oaths, and to take up Arms, if the Magiſtrate commanded any ſuch thing; And if any one did not obey this Order, that he ſhould be taken, and baniſh'd, after he had receiv'd a ſevere Chaſtiſment by Whipping; If he were taken a ſecond time, That he ſhould be whipped again, and that after he had been burnt with an hot Iron on the Shoulder, he ſhould be again ſentenc'd to Baniſhment; but if he were taken the third time, he was to be brought to the Magiſtrate as a Rebel, and ſo to be put to death.* But all the Cities of this *Netherlandiſh* Country are full of theſe *Mennonites*, who have their publick Aſſemblies, and an abſolute Liberty of Exerciſing their Religion. Nay, there is at *Amſterdam*, That *Chriſtopher Sandius*, of whom I have heretofore ſpoken to you, who makes an open and publick Profeſſion of being an *Arrian*, and he has many Diſciples.

If therefore you will ſeriouſly examine the thing, I think you will meet with but little Encouragement, to maintain, That thoſe

thoſe Governments, which follow ſo contrary a Practice, one to the other, upon a matter of Fact ſo important, Reference to Religion, can, in the mean time, be of the ſame Religion. I do not Imagine, that you will approve of what ſome affirm, upon this occaſion, *That in things which are indifferent, two States may demean themſelves, the one, this way, and the other, that way, and be both in the mean time of the ſame Religion.*

Things *indifferent*, as to practicability, are, if I am not miſtaken, ſuch as may, or may not be done, or be done after one manner, or after another quite different manner, yet, all without offending God. But I am not eaſily to be perſuaded, that the things we now ſpeak of can be called *Indifferent*. For I pray, tell me, Was it not well done by your Magiſtrate, and by that of *Geneva*, when they burnt theſe two ancient *Hereticks*, and this laſt *Jew*? If it was well done, it was not therefore a thing *Indifferent*, and they could not have omitted the doing of it, without offending God. If they did well in their procedure, methinks you cannot deny but that the *Dutch* do very ill, in tolerating and protecting the *Socinians*, who, as to the main, hold the ſame Errours, as thoſe ancient Hereticks; unleſs you would haply affirm, That there are ſome things in reference to Religion, which may be done after one way in *Switzerland*, and at *Geneva*, and after another way in the *Low-Countries*. For, I cannot comprehend, how one and the ſame Religion, can incline ſome of thoſe, who profeſs it, to do things directly contrary to thoſe which the others do.

Moreover, I do not think, that you will be ſo confident, as to affirm, that it was a thing indifferent, for your Magiſtrate, and for him of *Geneva*, to put thoſe two unfortunate Hereticks to death. You have too great a reſpect for your Lords, and Superiours, to charge them with the *Odium* of ſo rigorous an Execution, if they had not been thereto oblig'd by the Precepts of their Religion. If the Magiſtrates of the *Low-Countries* are of the ſame Religion, as yours, why does it not induce them, to follow the ſame Practice, in reference to the ſame Hereticks, or others, who are yet more dangerous?

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In short, I would make this Interrogatory to you, *Reverend Sir*, What Sentiment you have, of those Magistrates, who are of Opinion, That no Man ought to be troubled, or molested upon the score of Religion and, That all Christians ought to be tolerated, whatever disagreeing Sentiments they may have, upon that Account? If there were some of them amongst you, I do not believe you would receive them into your Communion; at least, thus far I am assur'd, That, according to your own Principles, you ought not to receive them. How then can you be of a Perswasion, That the Magistrates of the *United Netherlands* are of the *Reformed Religion*, properly so called; whereas, if they were at *Geneva*, or in *Cantons*, you cannot admit them to communicate with you? You know, that Monsieur *d' Huisseau*, Pastor of the Church of *Saumar*, was some years since, depos'd, and excommunicated, by the Synod of the Province, for the Book, which he had publish'd, for the Toleration and Re-Union of *Christians*. Though I have read it, yet cannot I call to mind, all the Maxims, which he advances and maintains. Mean time this I am assured of, That he does not advise a greater Toleration of *Christians*, than what the *States-General* do effectually grant. Which is as much as to say, That the Magistrates of these Countries, have time out of mind, practis'd that which that Minister has taught, by the Book, which he writ some years since. If it be so, I cannot imagine the Minister should be more in Fault, than they are; since he has offended only by his Writings, and the Magistrates are effectual Offenders. They have been the Doers of the Mischief, and he has been but the Teacher of it, and, possibly induc'd thereto, by their Example. If you are of Opinion, That the said Minister was justly, and legally excommunicated; you must certainly be guilty of a strange Partiality, if you allow the Name of your good *Brethren in Jesus Christ*, to the Magistrates of the *Low-Countries*, who, for these hundred years past, have committed the Evil for which that Minister hath been excommunicated, though he had not done it, and but only approv'd the Doing of it. If therefore, you cannot own them for *Brethren*, nor admit them to the participation of the Communion with you, according to the Maxims of your own Religion and Disciplines, can it enter into your Belief, That the external Profession which they make of your Religion, is

ſufficient to give him the denomination of being of it, as well as you.

But if the Magiſtrates did acquit themſelves of the Devoir, whereto the *Reformed Religion* does particularly oblige Magiſtrates, I ſhould make no difficulty to grant them the Privilege of Attributing to the State which they govern, the Name of the Religion which they profeſs. I believe, you will grant me, That the *Reformed* Magiſtrates, are, after the Example of your *Cantons*, oblig'd to obſtruct the Eſtabliſhment, and publick Exerciſe of falſe Religions; and the Magiſtrates themſelves of the *Low-Countries* cannot be ignorant, of what their own Confeſſion of Faith, review'd, and approv'd by the Synod of *Dort*, preſcribes to them, upon this occaſion. The xxxvi. Article, in which mention is made of Magiſtrates, ſaies expreſſly, *That it is their Duty, to remove Idolatry, and the falſe ſervice of God, to endeavour the deſtruction of* Antichriſt, *and to advance the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.*

I cannot imagine therefore, that you ſhould endeavour to maintain, That the *States-General* do conſcientiouſly acquit themſelves of what they are olig'd to by their charge of Magiſtracy, after what I have ſaid to you, of the Liberty, and Indulgence they grant, to ſo many different Sects, which, by their erroneous opinions, ſubvert the principal Myſtery of our own Religion.

If you conſult your own Sentiments, and thoſe of your Collegues, and of all your Miniſters, and if you follow the Practice of all your own Churches, you are oblig'd to exclude out of your Communion all thoſe Magiſtrates, who give that Liberty to all ſorts of Sects and Perſuaſions. How then can you think, that thoſe Magiſtrates, whom the Ordinances of your own Churches permit not to communicate with you, can give the Name of your Religion, to the State which they govern? Nay there are ſome Magiſtrates at *Amſterdam*, and *Rotterdam*, two of the principal, and moſt wealthy Cities of *Holland*, who make a publick and open Profeſſion, of their being *Arminians*.

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The Sieur *Adrian Paint*, who is one of the Magistracy of *Rotterdam*, is also an *Arminian*, and his Religion hinders not his exercising the Charge of Ambassadour from the *States-General*, at the *Spanish* Court, where he at present is. I know not whether he be of those of the Sect, who do absolutely follow the Sentiments of the *Socinians*. But if that person be a *Socinian*, and, in his Return from *Spain*, should be in Humour to take his way through your *Cantons*; I know not whether the worst that might happen to him, would be, a Denyal of Reception into your Communion.

Upon the Summing up therefore of all I have said to you, I am apt to think, that you cannot still have the same Opinion of the *States-General*, and continue your calling them a *Holy* and *Sanctify'd Republick*. Could you represent to your self that strange *party-colour'd*, *Chequer-work of Religion*, which is to be seen in those Countries, I should hardly believe, that you could persist any longer, in the good Sentiments you have for this State. I am ready to acknowledg, That the *Protestants* are oblig'd to it, for the liberty they have, to live there, without any fear, in the exercise of Religion. But are not all sorts of *Hereticks* equally oblig'd to it, for the liberty they have, to live there quietly, in the exercise of their Religions? If this State has been a Sanctuary to those of the *Reformation*, all *Hereticks* have also found refuge there, as well as the others.

In the General *Diet* held in *Poland*, in the Year 1658. it was Order'd, by a Publick Decree, That all the *Socinians* (who were very numerous in that Country, and had their Principal Seat there) should be sent away thence, and that, after some time allow'd them for the disposal of their Estates, they were to be for ever banish'd thence. The *States-General* did charitably receive all those amongst them, who took refuge in this Country; and it is particularly since that time, that they have notoriously increas'd, and multiply'd. If this *State* be the School of the *Reformed Party*, it is in like manner the School, the Damme, and the Nursery of all *Hereticks*. Nay, I am in some suspense, whether it may not be justly maintain'd, *That Christian Religion has receiv'd more detriment, than advantage, by the establishment of this State?* And possibly, for the same interest of *Christian Religion*,

there will be a greater obligation to wish its ruine, then its welfare. It will be a very hard matter, to perſuade you to this, ſince you are of Opinion, That the Republick of the *United Provinces* is a *moſt-Chriſtian State*, and one of the *moſt Reform'd*, even amongſt *Chriſtians*. I know not whether you will alwayes perſiſt in this Sentiment; but though you do, I ſhall not forbear remaining,

Reverend Sir,

Utrecht, May 13th.
1673.

Your moſt, &c.

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The Fifth LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

IF I am not miſtaken, I have, by irrefragable reaſons proved, That the *States-General* cannot be ſaid to be of the *Reformed Religion*. But you will ſay, If they are not of our Religion, what Religion may they be ſaid to be of? I muſt confeſs they are of the *Reformed Religion*, if, to be ſo, there needs no more, than an external profeſſion of it, no more, than to have ordain'd, by a publick Decree, That our Religion ſhould be the *Religion of State*, and that all thoſe, who would have any concern in the Government, ſhould make publick profeſſion thereof, and that there ſhould be publick Schools for the Teaching of it. If theſe things make a ſufficient Title to the *Reformed Religion*, this State is doubtleſs of that Religion. But if, as I think, I have made it ſufficiently appear, This State follows a practice quite contrary to all Governments of that Religion; and does, by its Conduct, and its own Confeſſion of Faith, and the publick Decree, whereby it eſtabliſh'd our Religion to be the *Religion of State*, deſtroy that very Religion; let what will be ſaid, I maintain, That this State is not of our Religion, but only as to the denomination, and not in effect.

If you are pleas'd to remember, Reverend Sir, what I have hitherto told you all-along, you will find it manifeſt, That as *Liberty of Conſcience* was eſtabliſhed by the firſt Ordinances which they made in this Country; ſo it may be ſaid, with reaſon, That this State conſonantly to its own Principles, is, and ought to be, of all *Religions*. And if it be of *all Religions*, it may well be ſaid, That it has not any particular Religion, nor indeed that it has not any at all. True it is, That there is one of them, which is very common to moſt of the Inhabitants of the Country, to wit, that of *Avarice*, which the Scripture calls *Idolatry*. *Mammon* has a vaſt number of

Votaries,

Votaries, in these parts, and, there is no question to be made, of his being better serv'd here, than the true God is by most *Christians*. If we consider the whole course of Life, amongst the *Dutch*, as also the earnestness, and application, wherewith they are addicted to *Commerce*, we cannot forbear acknowledging, That the only design they seem to have, is to grow rich, and heap up Money. There comes into my mind, upon this occasion, what I read in an *Italian* Relation, of a certain Voyage of the *Dutch*; That being come into the Cities of *Japan*, out of which there had been an expulsion of all the *Christians*, and the Inhabitants of the Country having ask'd them, whether they were *Christians*; they confidently answer'd, *Siamo Holandesi, non Siamo Christiani. We are Hollanders, we are not Christians.* And indeed their deportment since, as well in the *Indies*, as in some other remote places, makes it evidently appear, that they are extreamly concern'd for the advancement of their *Commerce*, and not any thing at all, for that of *Religion*.

All other sorts of *Christians*, as well *Roman-Catholicks*, as *Protestants* (the *Dutch* only excepted, if they may be admitted among the latter) make the Colonies they have, in those remote parts of the World, promotive to the advancement of *Christian Religion*, by causing it to be Preached to the Infidels. This we see practic'd by the *Catholicks*, with so great Zeal, by the great number of Missionaries, whom they send into the *East* and *West-Indies*, and into the *Turkish* Empire, to Preach the Gospel, and to Convert those People, to the Faith of *Jesus Christ*. Nay this is also done by the *English*, who send Ministers of the Gospel, into all parts where they have Colonies, and order all the Directors of their Companies, not to spare any thing, for the advancement of *Christian Religion*, and the conversion of Infidels. And so indeed, as well the Catholicks as the Protestants, make Use of Commerce, as of a means, to advance the Religion of Jesus Christ, and to bring those Idolatrous People to his Faith.

But the *Dutch*, on the contrary, out of a detestable impiety, are absolutely neglectful of all the Interests of *Religion*, in the *Indies*, in the *Levant*, and other Places, where they have great Colonies, that they may do nothing prejudicial to the Interests of their *Commerce*. They give express and peremptory Orders to the Directors of their Companies, and the Commanders of great Places, to hinder the Unbelieving Inhabitants of those parts, from coming

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to the knowledg of the Myſteries of *Chriſtian Religion*, and being Converted to the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*. It is their perſuaſion, That if ſome amongſt thoſe People, were once become *Chriſtians*, they might, by the Converſation they ſhould have with other *Chriſtians*, come to the knowledg of that grand Myſtery of *Commerce*, and deprive them of ſome part of their *Trade*. They would rather ſee all thoſe People Periſh eternally in their Ignorance, than to ſee their Eyes open'd, by the illuminations of Heaven, and that they ſhould ſhare with them in the advantages of their *Commerce*. Is it not a horrid thing, that the conſideration of a Temporal Intereſt and Concern, ſhould ſtifle all Sentiments of Piety, Charity, and the Zeal they ought to have, for the advancement of *Chriſtian Religion*, in a ſort of people, who would paſs for *Chriſtians*, nay, pretend to be of that diviſion of *Chriſtians* who aſſume the Title of *Reformed*?

We need only take an Obſervation of their Conduct, in thoſe Countries, to make a diſcovery, that they take not the leaſt care in the World for the ſettlement of Religion there, and that the only Concern they have to mind there, is to ſee their *Commerce* in a flouriſhing condition. You will be fully ſatisfi'd of the truth of what I tell you, when you ſhall have underſtood ſome of the remarkable Actions, which the *Dutch* have done in the Cities of *Japan*, and in ſome other Cities of the *Eaſt-Indies*.

There were in the Territories of the Emperor of *Japan*, many *Portugueze-Merchants*, and a very great number of perſons born in the Country, who were *Chriſtians*, and had been converted by the *Jeſuits*, and other *Catholick-Emiſſaries*. The *Dutch*, who do all they can, to be alone in thoſe remote places, and to get all other *European* Natives out of them, that all the Trade may be at their ſole diſpoſal, found a means to make all the *Roman-Catholicks* odious to the Emperor, that ſo he might have an occaſion to Baniſh them out of his Dominions. To that end, they inform'd him, that thoſe *Catholicks* had the *Pope* for their Head, to whom they render'd an implicite obedience, ſo far, as that he did diſpenſe with, and diſcharge them of that ſubjection which they ought to their lawful Sovereigns. Conſequently to this, they repreſented to that Prince, that it was dangerous for him, to have in his Country ſo great a number of Subjects, who acknowledging elſewhere a Sovereign Power, ſuperior to his, might, upon the reception of ſuch a Com-

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mand from it; rebell against him. That Prince, having, by this malicious information, conceived a very great Distrust of all the *Christians* in general, resolv'd upon an absolute extermination of them, and that not any one should ever be suffer'd to live in his Territories. All the Cruelties, which the ancient Tyrants ever inflicted upon *Christians*, are no great matter, in comparison of what that Prince exercis[illegible] upon the *Catholicks*, who were found in his Dominions. He put all to death with grievous, yet long-lasting Torments, nay there were many cut off who were not *Christians*, upon a suspicion of their lying conceal'd amongst them, that so not one might escape his fury. After so Bloody and Cruel an Execution, he put forth most severe Edicts, by which he Order'd, That there should never any *Christian* be permitted to enter into his Territories. The *Dutch* having crept in there, as I told you before, by a flat denial of their being *Christians*, acknowledg'd afterwards, that they were indeed some of those people, to whom that name was given; but that, for their parts, they minded only their *Trade*, and never troubled themselves with any thoughts of their *Religion*. They voluntarily made this Profer, that they would never speak to the Inhabitants of the Country, either of God, or of *Jesus Christ*, or his *Religion*, nor perform any Exercise of it themselves; and that they would so live, as that it should not be known, that they ever were *Christians*.

The Emperor of *Japan* finding the *Dutch* so well inclin'd, was of Opinion, That he had no cause to be afraid of them, though they were *Christians*, since they promis'd to live at such a Rate, as if, in effect, they were not such. He thereupon permitted them to live in his Territories, upon the conditions, which they had propos'd themselves. The *Dutch*, who never executed any Treaty, when it was more for their advantage to violate it, did very Sincerely and Religiously observe this with the Emperor of *Japan*, because it is destructive to the Interests of *Religion*, and highly beneficial to them upon the score of *Trade*. They have ever since Liv'd, and still do Live, in the Dominions of that Prince, without the performance of any Function of God's Service, without having the Bible, or any other Godly Book, or Treatise of Piety, for the doing of their Devotions in private.

But I am withal to tell you, Reverend Sir, That what you read of these Transactions of the *Dutch*, in those remote parts of the

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World, you are not so to look upon, as if that so detestable an Agreement made with the Emperour, was the private determination of a certain number of *Dutch Merchants*, resident in those Parts: but you are to consider what they did, as done by the express Order of the Directors of the Company establish'd in that Country, who have ratify'd it, and promoted the execution of it. All the *Dutch*, who are return'd into this Country since that Treaty was made, having publish'd it, all that have any concern for Vertue and Christianity in these Provinces have express'd themselves much astonish'd thereat. The Ministry made some stirr about it, and there have been several Acts made, in their Synods, in order to the making of Remonstrances and Complaints thereof to the *States-General*. I cannot precisely tell, what Resolution the *States-General* have yet taken thereupon; but I know, that they have not taken any, for the breaking off of so Impious and so Scandalous a Treaty. Their deportment, in this very case, may justly create a belief, That they are of the Sentiment of that Renegado *Jew*, *Spinosa*, of whom I have already given you an account, though he has not any thing of Christianity.

It is that Author's design, in his Treatise, called *Tractatus Theologo-Politicus, pag.* 62. of the *Latine* Edition, to prove, That *Baptisme*, the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, *Prayers*, and all the external Functions of Gods Service, which are, and ever have been common to all *Christians*, in case they were appointed by *Jesus Christ*, or his Apostles, of which he saies that he is not assur'd, were appointed, as he maintains, but only as external signs of the Universal Church, and not as things any way conducive to Beatitude, or having any sanctity in themselves, and that they who live in Solitude are not oblig'd to the performance of them; And that they who have their Habitations in remote Countries, where the Exercise of the *Christian Religion* is prohibited, are oblig'd to abstain from those Ceremonies, and may yet do well enough, in order to a happy life. To prove the Proposition, which he advances, he alledges the example of what the *Dutch* do in *Japan*. In which Country, the *Christian Religion* being prohibited, he affirms. That the *Dutch* are oblig'd, by the command of the *Directors of the East-India Company*, to forbear performing the exercise thereof. From whence it may be

deduc'd, That that Action of the *Dutch* in *Japan* done, and maintain'd by a publick Authority muſt needs be impious and deteſtable, ſince this Author, who makes an open profeſſion of *Atheiſme*, makes uſe of it, as an irrefragable Reaſon, to prove, That all the external Services of the *Chriſtian Religion*, are not at all contributory to, or advancive of ſatisfaction, and that men may be never the leſs happy, though they never mind them. But if, without any regard to the Sentiment of that *Atheiſt*, you conſider that Action in it ſelf, what could you imagine in the World of greater horror, than that ſome *Chriſtians*, who would paſs for ſuch as are of the *Calviniſtical* way of *Reformation*, could ever be induc'd, to make an expreſs prohibition, and an abſolute retrenchment of all exerciſe of *Religion*, to their people, in a Country, that they may there have a quiet exerciſe of their *Trade*. And therefore I hope, Reverend Sir, that, however you may have an over-paſſionate kindneſs for the *Dutch*, yet you will not have the confidence, to deny their being guilty of the higheſt impiety, in Sacrificing the intereſts of *Chriſtian Religion*, to their *Commerce* and *Trade*, and making no Conſcience, or being any way concern'd, to ſee ſo many Perſons live and Die, without the exerciſe of any Religion, as if they were without God, and without hope, only to make an unhappy profit by the luſts of their Souls.

If you have had any account of the dreadful Execution which was committed by the ſame *Dutch*, in the Iſland of *Amboyna*, in the Year 1622. it is impoſſible, but you muſt acknowledg, that there is not any conſideration of Religion able to divert them from the exerciſing of all ſorts of Cruelties, when the Diſpute is about their intereſt, and profit. There were not Twenty *Engliſh-men* in that place, and the *Dutch* had there a very great Colony, and a well fortifi'd Caſtle, with a good Garriſon in it. They accus'd the *Engliſh* of having a deſign to take that Caſtle, though they had neither Arms, nor Forces. They are taken into cuſtody, upon that pretended Conſpiracy; they are interrogated, not one amongſt them confeſſes any thing, and there could be no Diſcoveries made of their being guilty of it. But it was for the intereſt of the *Dutch-Company*, that they ſhould be ſo. That they might be render'd ſuch in appearance, they are put to the Torture. All the ſeveral Tortures of Fire and Water were us'd, to make them acknowledg, what the *Dutch* would have them to ſay. After ſome reſiſtance of ſuch Cruel Torments, they were at laſt or'e-preſs'd by their violence,

lence, and confeſs'd whatever they deſir'd them. But after they had recover'd themſelves again, they diſown'd all they had ſaid in the midſt of their Torments; nay when they were juſt at the point of Execution, they call'd God to atteſt their Innocence, and beſought him to make it appear, after the death they were then going to ſuffer. He who was the Commander of that place, and the unjuſt Judg who had condemn'd them, were nothing mov'd at, though fully convin'd of the Innocence of thoſe Priſoners. But there being a neceſſity of their Dying, for the intereſt of the *Dutch-Company*, Nine of the pretended Conſpirators were Executed, and ſome of them were ſet at Liberty, who, returning into *England*, brought thither the News of that Cruel Maſſacre.

Now, Sir, I would fain know, what you would ſay of ſo inhumane and ſo barbarous an Action? Will you ſtill allow thoſe to be good *Reformed Chriſtians*, who make no ſcruple to cut the Throats of their *Brethren*, profeſſing the ſame Religion as they do, for a little Worldly Goods, and for their own private Intereſts? This Tragical Story, is ſo well known all over the World, that there is not any *Dutchman* dares deny it. Nay an Author of their own Nation, one *Aitzema*, in his Book, entituled, *The Dutch Combatant*, *pag.* 211, 212, 213, 214, 215. Printed in the Year 1661. gives a very large and particular deſcription of it. And he makes out withal, how falſe, and unlikely the Accuſation brought in againſt the *Engliſh*, was, and confidently affirms, that it was fram'd, upon no other ſcore, than that they might have a pretence to put them to death, ſeize into their own hands all the effects of the *Engliſh Company*, and, by that deteſtable impoſture, render themſelves Maſters of all the *Trade* of the *Moluccoes*, *Amboyna*, and *Banda*.

The ſame laſt-mention'd Author, does, in the ſame Book, *page* 113. Relate another Story of a greater Cruelty, which the *Dutch* exercis'd upon the *Engliſh*, in the Iſland of *Banda*. He ſays, That the *Dutch*, in order to their becoming Maſters of that Iſland, Maſſacred above Forty *Engliſh-men*, and that, after they had bound living Perſons to dead Carkaſſes, they caſt them into the Sea, and afterwards poſſeſs'd themſelves of what they had, which amounted to above Five and Twenty Thouſand Pounds Sterling.

True it is, that they are somewhat to blame, who still reproach the *Dutch* with those two Actions, and particularly with that of *Amboyna*, since they have made a considerable satisfaction for it, in the Treaty which was concluded between them and the *Protector-dome* of *England*, in the Year 1654. For, the Parliament having enter'd into a War against them, which, amongst other ptetences, had that of the Execution at *Amboyna*, the *Dutch* gave the *English* several Millions of *Guilders*, not simply to satisfie them for the damages, they had caus'd them to suffer, which could not have amounted to neer so great a Sum, though they had taken away all the effects which they had in that Island, and depriv'd them of the advantages they might have made by the Commerce of Thirty Years; but also by way of Reparation, for the Blood which they had unjustly spilt, and to blot out the remembrance of so barbarous an Action.

There would be a necessity of compiling a great Volume, if it were my design, to make a collection, of all the Cruel Actions, which the *Dutch* have committed in the *Indies*, and elsewhere, upon the pure interest of *Commerce*. But I am apt to think, that you will gladly spare me that Trouble, and will think, no doubt, that I have said enough, and haply too much, upon a subject which is not divertive to you. If then, after a serious reflection upon what I have entertain'd you withal, you find no abatement of the affection, which you had for the *Dutch*, I must acknowledg, That your friendship does, in steadiness, and strength, exceed that of any other person in the World. And this gives some hopes, that you will continue that part of it, which you have promis'd me, as I assure you of my ever remaining,

Reverend Sir,

Your, &c.

The

The Sixth LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

IT is no small affliction to me, that I have given you an account of some things, concerning the *Dutch*, which certainly must have rais'd in you some disgust against me. I am therefore, out of a pure fear of feeding or augmenting it, resolv'd to be very careful, in waving to tell you any thing henceforward, which may give you any perplexity in reference to them. Nay, I am willing to make you satisfaction for all I have already said to you. I acknowledg therefore, to humour you, that the *Dutch* are as *good Christians*, and as much of the true way of *Reformation*, as you imagine them to be, that is to say, the best in the World. Though it were so, yet I do not think you have any reason to cry out, *Arms*, *Arms*, as you do, to excite and encourage all that are of the *Reformed* Persuasion, in *Europe*, to come in to their relief. You know well enough, that his most *Christian Majesty* is not engag'd in a War against them, upon the matter of *Religion*, but that the reason of his engaging in it, was, to chastize their ingratitude, to mortifie their violence, and to teach them a new Lesson, of paying him the respects they owe him, and to keep within the bounds of modesty, and reason. Were it a War upon the score of *Religion*, do you think, that the one or the other Branch of the House of *Austria*, that of *Germany*, and that of *Spain*, which are the natural Enemies of our *Religion*, and which ever have been the cruel Persecutors of those who profess it, would have openly undertaken the defence of the *Dutch*, in this cause, against the interests of the *Catholick Religion*, of which, they make it their ostentation, That they are the Protectors, and especially the King of *Spain*, whom, for that reason, the *Pope* has honour'd with the Title of *Catholick King*.

But

But to ſhew you again, how deſirous I am to pleaſe you, I will acknowledg alſo, That this is a War of *Religion*. Let us ſee whether it will turn to our advantage, to raiſe an Army, conſiſting only of men profeſſing the true *Reformed Religion*, and to bring it into the Service of the *Dutch*. Let us make a computation of all thoſe who may be for us, and of all thoſe, who, in this caſe, might be againſt us. But I think, it were better, we never meddled with that troubleſome diſcrimination, which would only convince us, of the weakneſs of our little Flock, and diſcover the great number of Enemies, whom we ſhould have to do withal. I am ſatisfy'd, That a great number of good Soldiers might be got out of your *Cantons*, and the other *Proteſtant Cantons*. But I humbly conceive, you will not be offended, if I tell you, That if *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf were upon Earth, and had occaſion for the aſſiſtance of your Forces, you would not let him have any, unleſs he would be ſure to ſee you well paid for them; and that he ſhould not prevail ſo far with you, as that, for his ſake, you would abolish the Proverb, which you have brought into Vogue, *Point d'argent, point de Suiſſe*, *No Money, no Swiſſe*; or as the *Engliſh* Saying has it, *'Tis Money makes the Mare to go*.

And that it thus happen'd, is well known, when the Chimerical Ambaſſador of the *Dutch* had underhand ſollicited your *Cantons*, and had afterwards been admitted into your Aſſembly, *Conjuring and beſeeching you, by the love you ought to have for your dear Brethren, not to abandon them in their Neceſſities, and to maintain their Cauſe, which was, that of Jeſus Chriſt*. You know very well, that all he could get of you, in your *Diet*, was, That you had reſolved one ſhould be aſſembled, for their ſakes, that you would ſpare ſome few repaſts, obſerve a Faſt, and pray for their Preſervation and Proſperity. That if it were a Waſte upon the ſcore of *Religion*, whatever Zeal you might have for ours, the *Catholick Cantons*, having no leſs for theirs, we ſhould find more Soldiers running out of the *Catholick Cantons*, to maintain the Party of *their Religion*, than there would be *Proteſtants* ready, to defend the Intereſts of ours. And as to the quality of the Soldiers of *Switzerland*, if a computation may be made of it, by the Succeſs of two Wars, one whereof you had about 140 years ago, and the other, about 18 years ſince, I am confident, you cannot deny, but that the *Catholick* Soldiers are much better, than all thoſe of your *Proteſtant*

testant Cantons. Nay, the *Catholicks* would have this advantage, that their Pay would easily come out of the Exchequers of Kings and Princes, if the Dispute were about the defence of their *Religion*. Whereas yours, not finding any *Protestant-Prince*, who were able to bear the charge of them, should be forc'd to keep in your own Country, and content themselves with the making of Vows, for the preservation of our *Religion*. Nay, I do not think, that all the Princes or States of the *Reformed Religion*, in *Europe*, would be able, all together, and do their utmost, to keep up an Army of Ten Thousand men, when the safety of our *Religion* lay at stake. I do not speak of the *Lutherans*, because the greatest part amongst them, have such an animosity against us, as loudly to affirm, That they would rather enter into the Communion of the *Catholicks*, than into *Ours*.

If again, on the other side, you consider, how many Kings, Sovereign Princes, Republicks, and States, there are in *Europe*, who all profess the *Romish Religion*, you may all imagine, That as we are but a small handful, in comparison of them, so there is not any likelihood, that we should be able to resist them, if they were once engag'd in a War against us. Nay, if it were an open and declar'd War, upon the account of *Religion*, you would soon find the *Emperour* and the King of *Spain* deserting the party of the *Dutch*, and siding with that of their own *Religion*. The *Catholicks* have yet another most considerable advantage, which would extreamly corroborate their Party against ours. They have the *Pope*, whom they all acknowledg to be the visible Head of the Church upon Earth, who reunites them all for their Common Interest, and would, with much more Zeal, publish a *Croisado* against us, then ever he did any against the *Turks*. And indeed, he has reason to have a greater animosity against us, than against all the unbelieving people in the World. As he pretends to be the Spiritual Head of all *Christians*, so he considers those who do not acknowledg him, as revolted Subjects, and Rebels to his Empire; whereas he looks on the *Turks* and *Heathens*, as Strangers, who are out of his Jurisdiction, and not within the extent of his Superintendency.

And as a King is more incens'd against his Subjects who have

have revolted from the obedience they owe him, then against foreign Enemies, who are not within the Verge of his Dominions. So the *Pope* suffers the *Jews* in his Territories, and would never permit any of the *Reformed Profession*, to harbour in them. His *Pontifical Dignity* will not suffer him, ever to be reconcil'd to those, who directly shock the authority, which he pretends to have over all *Christians*.

You may see by this, the great danger, into which those of our Religion would be reduc'd, if your Zeal could enflame them so far, as to make a Party, in favour of the *Dutch*. Nay, I leave it to your own Judgment, whether it is any fault of yours, if your inconsiderate Zeal has not excited the *Catholicks*, to fall upon those of our *Reformed Religion*, in those places, where they lye expos'd to their mercy, and that they have not made it their business to exterminate them?

But if your Zeal, without Knowledg, be injurious to all those of the *Reformed Religion* in general, it is also very prejudicial to all your own *Protestant-Cantons*, and to your Allies in particular. Assoon as ever you saw the first breaking out of this War, You your self, Reverend Sir, in the City of *Berne*, and all your Ministers, within the Extent of your Government, were continually cajoling the people by their Seditious Sermons, to make an Insurrection against those of your Magistrates, who had given their judgment, That there should be a Regiment of men granted to the most *Christian King* out of your *Canton*. If men would have believ'd you, and all the Ministers of your Country-Villages, it must have been accounted a very horrid Crime in you, to suffer your Soldiers to be employ'd in a War against your *beloved Brethren in Jesus Christ*, the *Dutch*. 'Twas this gave occasion to your Magistrate, distracted by your Pulpit-bawling and by the clamours of the multitude, whom you had inflam'd into an Insurrection, to write unseasonable Letters upon Letters, to the Officers of your Regiment, fraught with terrible menaces, if they serv'd in this War against the *United Provinces*. Nay, you thought it not enough to put in a Charge against your own *Canton*, upon the account of its having granted Forces to his most *Christian Majesty*, and his not preventing their being employ'd against the *Dutch*, but you

must

must also Panegyrically celebrate the *Cantons* of *Zurick*, and *Schaffouse*, for their refusal to give him any. I cannot comprehend any reason you should have to name *Schaffouse*, which being a poor little *Canton*, has but one half-Company in the Service, but a hands-breadth of ground within its Jurisdiction, and can raise but Two Companies at the most. And you speak of it, as if that refusal of their Forces had been very detrimental to the Kings Affairs, and much retarded the Progress of his Conquests. And yet it is certain, in the mean time, That all the best qualify'd Persons in the Councel of that *Canton* had promis'd to grant the Companies which the *most Christian King* required of it. But One Factious person amongst them occasion'd the breaking of that Resolution, upon this score, that besides his being a man absolutely devoted to the *Dutch*, ever since his reception of a Present from them, when he sojourn'd in this Country, he was out of hopes of getting the Command of a Company for one of his own Relations, that he might make some advantage thereby.

But, as to the *Canton* of *Zurick*, I must acknowledg it to be powerful, and that it might have rais'd several Companies of good Soldiers. I know also, That its Councel consists of Persons of very good worth, such as have Wit, and Honour, Vigour, and Constancy, if the thing had depended upon them; and they knew their own Interest much better, than to have deny'd his *Most Christian Majesty* the Forces he had required of them. But the mischief of it, as you know, is, That they are not the absolute Masters. The Sovereign Authority lies in the hands of the Councel of *Two Hundred*, consisting, for the most part, of much Heat, and little Prospect, of much Obstinacy, and little Reason. It is no wonder then, that, the Ministers, having enflam'd that multitude with the zealous Concern of *Religion*, they could not be dispos'd, to grant Forces to his *most Christian Majesty*, though he should have no Design to employ them against the *Dutch*.

I must confess further, Sir, That I am very much astonish'd, at your Undertaking, to make a confident justification of those Two *Cantons*, for their having deny'd Forces to the *most Christian King*; as also, that after you had blamed your own, for their having

ving granted a Regiment, you should undertake to vindicate all it did afterwards; either to have it recall'd, or to prevent its being employ'd against the *Dutch*. It will be no hard matter, for me, to make it appear to you, That this Conduct of yours, besides its being most unjust, may also be very prejudicial, even as to what relates to the interests of *Religion*. You cannot forbear granting your selves to be absolutely unjust, if you deny the demeaning of your selves towards his most *Christian Majesty*, as you would have him demean himself towards you.

For Instance, If it should happen, that you were attack'd by the King of *Spain*, or the *Emperour*, by the Duke of *Savoy*, by the *Catholick Cantons*, or by some other Prince, of the same Religion, you would desire, That his *most Christian Majesty* would assist you against them, by vertue of the Alliance there is between you and him. If the King should deny you the Forces you desired, and alledge, That he could not assist you, being of the *Reformed Religion*, against *Catholick* Princes, you would complain of it, and affirm, That the Most *Christian King* does not observe the Alliance he has made with you. How then do you not see, that the most *Christian King* has just cause of complaining, That you are unwilling to supply him with Forces, against the *Dutch*, because they are of the *Reformed Religion*? Do you not further observe, That, by your indiscreet Zeal, you deprive your selves of all the Advantages, which you might expect from the Alliance there is between You and the most *Christian King*, by giving him just cause to deny you assistance, if you should come to desire it of him? If the Duke of *Savoy* should enter into a War against you, upon the Pretensions he has to the Country of *Vaud*, tell me, Whether you would be so presumptuous as to desire assistance from the Most Christian King? You would not have your Forces to serve his most *Christian Majesty* against the *Dutch*, because they are of our *Reformed* way of Religion, though they are not your Allies. By what Right can you pretend, That the most *Christian King* should give you Forces, to serve you, who are not of his Religion, against a *Catholick* Prince, who, besides his being in alliance with him, has also the honour of being nearly related to him? Besides, you make but an ill acknowledgment, of the Favour which the most

Christian

Christian King, did you not Two Years since, when he openly undertook your protection, against the Bishop of *Basil*, who was going to give you some disturbance. He had establish'd a *Catholick* Church, upon some part of your Territories, as he pretended that he had a right to do. The *Pope*, the *Emperour*, and the King of *Spain*, had openly taken his part, by reason of the Concern of the *Catholick Religion*. The most *Christian King* having been inform'd, That he had not any Right to establish that Church, upon your Territories, sent a Message to him, That if he did not restore things, to the condition they were in before, and forbear making any alteration, he would openly grant you assistance against him.

You know, Sir, That the said Prelate, standing more in awe of the most *Christian King*'s Indignation, than relying on the Succours of the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, and the King of *Spain*, thought it his best course, to renounce his Pretensions, and to give over disturbing you. If the most *Christian King* had done then, what you have done at the present, he would have been far enough from entertaining so much as a thought of protecting you, being of the *Reformed Religion*, against a Bishop, especially in a Cause, wherein the Interest of the *Catholick Religion* was concern'd.

You know also, That the *Emperour*, and the King of *Spain*, who have a particular Alliance with the *Catholick Cantons*, are oblig'd to assist them, in case they should enter into a Warre against you, or against the other *Protestant Cantons*. Now it is manifest, That, upon such occasions, you cannot hope for any assistance, but from the most *Christian King*. If therefore you would not have your Forces to serve his most *Christian Majesty*, against the *Dutch*, who are not your Allies, meerly upon the score of their professing the same Religion, as you do; I do not see, how you can desire the most *Christian King*, to grant you Forces, to serve you, who are of the *Reformed Religion*, against the *Catholick Cantons*, who are of his Allies, as well as you.

You know further, That the City of *Geneva* is under the protection of *France*, ever since the time of *Henry* the Third, who granted it thereto against *Philibert-Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*.

All the Succeſſors of that King have continu'd their protection to the ſame City, againſt the Succeſſors of that ancient Duke, who are the troubleſome Neighbours, and in a manner the only Enemies, whom that Republick has any cauſe to fear.

You ſee then, by this proceduse of *Henry* the Third, of *France*, and the Kings who ſucceeded him, That though they were very zealous for their *Religion*, yet they made no ſcruple of giving their Protection to a *Proteſtant-State*, againſt a *Catholick* Prince. Had your Politicks been known in the World, thoſe Princes would not have become guilty, of what you think a great crime, That a King ſhould defend a State, profeſſing a Religion different from his own, againſt a Prince, who is of the ſame Religion with him. If this Maxim comes once to be eſtabliſh'd, you may very well fear, that the moſt *Chriſtian King*, having his Eyes open'd by your illuminations, and following your example, may withdraw his Protection from *Geneva*, that ſo he may avoid the Reproach, which may be made to him, of having ſuccour'd a City of the *Huguenot-Perſuaſion*, againſt a Prince of his own *Religion*.

From this you may alſo take this further meaſure, That the implicite affection which you have for the *Dutch*, does expoſe you, as alſo the *Proteſtant-Cantons*, and your Allies, to an evident danger, of not receiving any more aſſiſtance from his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty*, againſt a *Catholick* Prince, or State. If it ſhould ever happen, that you were concern'd in ſuch a War, the plauſible pretence of Zeal for Religion, would prove very prejudicial to you, in depriving you of the Aſſiſtance of the moſt *Chriſtian King*, who, certainly, is the greateſt, or, to ſay better, the only Support and Refuge that you can have. Your Injuſtice therefore, and your Ingratitude, are ſo much the greater, in as much as you cannot deny, but that *France* has many times openly given its Protection to the *Proteſtants*, in oppoſition to the *Catholicks*.

You know, That, for a long time, it aſſiſted the *Dutch*, againſt the King of *Spain*, even before there was any open War between the Two Crowns.

You

You know also, That *France* gave an Overt Protection to the *Protestant-Princes* of *Germany*, against the *Emperour*, who had already devested several of them of their Dominions, and would, under the pretence of *Religion*, become Master of all *Germany*. The late King, *Lewis* XIII. made an Alliance with the King of *Sweden*, against the House of *Austria*, and got that Prince to come out of the remoter Parts of the *North*, to oppose the Ambitious Designs of that House, to raise up the oppressed Princes, and to defend the Liberty of the Empire.

After the Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, *France* did again joyn its Arms, with those of his Successors, and the Generals of that Great King, in a continuance of its Protection to the *Protestants*, and for the re-establishing of those Princes in their Territories, who had been dispossess'd of them. But, on the contrary, the House of *Austria* had the greatest part of its Alliances with the *Catholicks*, against the *Protestants*. 'Twas upon this, that the Adherents of the *Emperour*, and the King of *Spain*, took occasion to publish Libels against the most *Christian King*, whom they accus'd of being a *Protector of Heretick*s, and fighting for them, against the Interests of the *Catholick Religion*. And yet all those Accusations which were put up against *France*, upon that score, obstructed not its persisting in the stipulations, it had made to its Allies, and continuing its Protection to the *Protestants*, against the Violence of the *Emperour*, who endeavour'd to oppress them. Nay, the King of *France* is in a manner the only *Catholick* Prince, who allows the *Protestants* the Exercise of their *Religion* in his Dominions; whereas the King of *Spain* would never Tolerate, in his, the Exercise of any other *Religion* than the *Catholick*. And the *Emperour* has forc'd all the *Protestants* out of his Hereditary Countries. And, both the *Emperour*, and the King of *Spain*, think it highly meritorious, in the sight of God, to be the irreconcileable Enemies, and implacable Persecutors of those whom they call *Heretick*s.

In the mean, *Reverend Sir*, it appears by your deportment, That, let the *Protestants* be never so transcendently oblig'd to his most *Christian Majesty*, they should so little mind it, as that the only resentment they have, should have no other object, than the

the Calamities, which the *Dutch* endure by the War, wherein he is now engag'd against them. Your Compassion is so great for their Misery, that you think you have a dispensation, to forget all the Kindnesses, which the most *Christian King* hath done to those of the *Reformed Religion*, and not so much as to reflect on those he may yet do you, in giving you assistance against your Enemies. In a word, your Bowels do so yearn for those poor Brethren of yours, the *Dutch*, that, provided their preservation be secur'd, you do not much concern your self, what may become of you, and all those of the *Reformed Religion*. You are so blindly infatuated, upon this subject, that, provided you demonstrate your good Inclinations for the *Dutch*, you seem to be indifferent, that you are thought a bad *Huguenot*, and most wretched *Politician*. The *Dutch*, certainly, are the best *Politicians* in the World, for things relating to *Religion*, which they never made any other use of, then that of accommodating it to the Interests of State. Nay they have alwaies been so little concern'd, at the danger of those who profess'd the same *Reformed Religion*, that they made no scruple at all, of entring into a War for their destruction, upon the pure score of Money.

Of which take this instance. I think you need not be inform'd, *Reverend Sir*, how that the *Dutch* sent a certain number of Ships, to the most *Christian King*, for the reinforcing of his Fleet, by which *Rochell* was then block'd up. That was, indeed, a War, upon the pure score of *Religion*, in which the most *Christian King* was engag'd against his Subjects, to get out of their hands the fortify'd places, which they were possess'd of, and would keep, to secure the observance of the Edicts, and the Exercise of their *Religion*. All the whole party of the *Reformed Religion*, in *France*, were afraid, That as soon as the King should have taken *Rochell*, he would abrogate the Edict of *Nantes*, and absolutely take away the Exercise of the *Calvinisticall Religion*. All the other *Reformed Princes*, and *States* had the same apprehension, insomuch, that publick prayers were made in all parts for the preservation of *Rochell*, as a City, on which depended the safety of all those of the *Reformed Religion*, in *France*. They had the same thoughts in the *United Provinces*, and prayers were made to God, in all Churches, that he would be graciously pleas'd,

pleaded, to preserve *Rochell*, as the impregnable Fort of those of the *Reformed Religion*. And yet the *Dutch* made no scruple of hiring out Ships for money, to the then most *Christian King*, to promote the Destruction of a City, which, according to the apprehensions of all the World, was certainly to have consequent thereto, that of our *Reformed Religion*, and of all those who profess'd it in the Dominions of *France*. Was there ever seen any example of so detestable an impiety, That a State, which makes a boast of being of the *Reformation*, should have made no Conscience, for money, of contributing to the Ruine of a great People, who make profession of the same *Religion*, and that at the very time, when, for the compleating of the Impiety, it order'd Prayers to be made to God, in the Churches, for their Preservation? This puts me in mind of the Emperour, *Charles* the Fifth, who caus'd publick Prayers to be made, all over *Spain*, for the Liberty of Pope *Clement* the Second, whom he himself kept a Prisoner at *Rome*, in the Castle of *Saint Angelo*.

But there are yet some particular circumstances in this action of the *Dutch*, which do very much aggravate the horrour, and perfidiousness of it. In the first place then, before the doing of any act of hostility against those of *Rochell*, and before they had made any declaration of being enemies, they endeavour'd, by Surprize, to become Masters of the Port. Though what I say seems strange, and at some distance from credibility, yet is there not any thing in the world more true. An illustrious person amongst the *Dutch*, and the Author before by me cited, when I gave you an account of the affair of *Amboyna*, I mean *Aitzema*, in the Book entituled *The Lyon Combatant*, pag. 241. sets down at large this History, of the design which the *Dutch* had, to surprize *Rochell*. Take here in express terms what he saies of it.

On the fourth of *July*, in the Year 1625. *Hautyn*, Admirall of *Holland*, appeared before *Rochell*, with nineteen men of War. The Inhabitants of *Rochell* writ to him, as did also the Count *De la Val*, to let him know, what astonishment they were in, to see him in the posture of an enemy, as being not able to imagine, that either the *States*, or the *Prince of Orange*, would have entred into a war against the *Reformed Religion*. *Hautyn* told those who had brought

brought him the Letters, that he could not return them any answer, till he had had some conference with those of the King's Council. The next day he sent them back to *Rochell*, with two of his own people, and told them, That he knew not whether they were come by the order of all the Inhabitants, or of some part of them only, and that he was going to send to them, to be assur'd of it; and that in case they continu'd in their subjection to the King, they were not to fear any harm. In the mean time, those Deputies having left him, in order to their going to *Rochell*, he came up, with part of his Fleet, very near the City, which gave occasion to two men of *Rochell*, whom he had kept aboard, to tell him, That he did not deal fairly. Monsieur *de Soubize*, having perceiv'd, that he was advanc'd with a good number of Ships, made him stand off, and one or two days after, he absolutely defeated him, burnt his Vice-Admiral, and four or five Ships, and kill'd him five hundred men; so that the whole Fleet, being in great disorder, got away as far as *Nantes*. And this was the unhappy success, which that perfidious man had, who, under pretence of friendship, would have surpriz'd the City, and so betray'd it to the King.

After *Hautyn* had refitted his Fleet, he joyns that of the most *Christian King*, commanded by Monsieur *de Montmorency*, who would fight that of the *Rochellers*, assoon as he came in sight of it. But news was brought him, That the *Dutch* Admiral would not be concern'd in the action; for this reason, no doubt, that he was afraid to be beaten once more. *Montmorency* presses him, and conjures him, not to desert him in so important an occasion. He alledges for his Excuse, as we find in *Gramond*, *Hist. Gall. pag.* 635, and 636. That without an express Command from the States, he durst not employ their Ships, to give a decisive battel to the *Protestants* of *France*, who were of the same Religion with his Masters. Mons. *de Montmorency*, being extreamly troubled, that the *Dutch* did, by their refusal to fight, defeat him of the Fame, which he expected infallibly to acquire, by the Victory, was forc'd, after a fruitless application of intreaties, and promises, to make Use of an expedient, which ever prevails with the *Dutch*. He, with good palpable money, corrputed their whole Fleet, and engag'd the *Admiral*, the *Commanders*, and the *Soldiers*, by oath, to fight against those of *Rochell*. So the most *Christian King's* Fleet

Fleet, being reinforc'd with that of the *Dutch*, de *Montmorency* gave an absolute defeat, to that of the *Rochellers*, commanded by *Mons. de Soubise*: So that the Inhabitants of that City could not equip another, and from that very day lost the Soveraignty of that Sea, which they had kept for some time. Whereupon, they having no Fleet, and that of the most *Christian King* having the absolute command of the Sea, his Land-Army undertook that memorable work of the *Digue*. The City finding it self depriv'd of all hopes of relief, surrender'd to the King, after the endurance of incredible inconveniences, by famine, during so long a Siege. If the *Dutch* had sent in this assistance to his most *Christian Majesty*, by vertue of any Treaties of Allyance, which they had had with him, there would not have been any thing to quarrel at in the said Action. But is it not an infamous thing, that, after they had plainly alledg'd their not being empower'd to fight against those of the *Reformed Religion*, without an express command from the *States*, they should nevertheless be lur'd in, by money, to do a thing, which they knew to be contrary to their duty, and might have contributed to the ruine of all those who profess'd the *Reformed Religion* in *France*, if the most *Christian King* had had any such design, as some imputed to him? And by this, you may judge of the Friendship which the *Dutch* have for those of the *Reformed Religion*, since they make no scruple, to hire out themselves, and their Ships, to be assistant in their extermination.

If you can, without passion, examine all I have written to you, concerning the *Dutch*, I am confident, you will not persist any longer, in the good opinion you have hitherto had of them. But I think you will hardly be induc'd to lose it, because you are extremely propossess'd in their favour. Mean time, since I look upon you, as a very just and rational Person, I hope you will not think it much, to aquaint me with the Reasons, which you may have had, for your not being mov'd with those which you have reciev'd from me. Shew me, that there is not any ground in all those, by which I have pretended to prove, *That the United Provinces are not of the Reformed Religion, according to the Calviniſtical way of Reformation.* Make it appear to me, that you have done well, in endeavouring to make an insurrection in your *Canton*, about the Regiment, which you had rais'd for his most *Christian Majesty*,

and that all those of the *Reformed Religion* ought to unite together, for the relief of the *Dutch*, in the present War, between them and the most *Christian King*. If you can prove all these things to me, I assure you, I shall submit to your Reasons. And I shall moreover give my thanks, for your deliverance of me, out of the errour, in which I have hitherto continu'd, and for the illuminations I shall receive from your documents. This I do sincerely promise you, as also, that, howe're it may happen, I shall ever be,

Reverend Sir,

Utrecht, May 19th.
1673.

Your most humble, &c.

FINIS.